The Linguistic Significance of Current British Slang

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ABSTRACT

This thesis comprises four chapters dealing with aspects of current British Slang.

In Chapter 1 a questionnaire dealing largely with Slang terms for women is described, and the results obtained are analysed for socio-linguistic information. This analysis indicates that differences of Slang usage correlate with the informants' age, sex and social class. A new taxonomy of English Register is suggested.

Chapter 2 deals with a test designed to gather data about the acceptability of items in the questionnaire. It investigates the effects on acceptability of: an item's context; the informants' age, sex and social class; and the rating of pairs of items used in similar contexts.

In Chapter 3 the problems of carrying out semantic analyses of such material are discussed. A partitioning cluster analysis procedure is employed to group the data objectively. A single-context synonymity test is also applied to the data. Stable clusters which are consistent with the results of the single-context synonymity test and with linguistic intuitions are generated using cluster analysis. Cluster analysis procedures are assessed for applicability in linguistic research and their possible future uses in semantic analysis are discussed.

Chapter 4 reviews some alternative proposals for

semantic analysis as well as previous suggestions regarding the position of Slang in the English Language. The data collected illustrate semantic parallels between Slang and Standard English. An attempt at componential analysis of the data illustrates problems inherent in this procedure. The difficulties are seen in terms of the dilemma: the need to generalise to keep the system a manageable size; and the unavoidable loss of vital information through generalization. Some modifications of the normal techniques are suggested, especially the introduction of the notion 'fuzzy component', to deal with the irreducible vagueness of meaning in some items of Standard English and of Slang.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The enormous influence of Chomsky on the development of theoretical linguistics since the publication of Syntactic Structures in 1957 is indicated by several general features of the research since that date, among which two seem to me to be particularly important and relevant to the content of this thesis. First, there has been a concern with syntax and phonology rather than with semantics. This trend, rooted in the Bloomfieldian tradition which explicitly excluded semantics from the proper domain of linguistics (Bloomfield, 1935), has been less marked in the past few years, but for the most part semanticists still explore the meanings of lexical items in terms designed to render semantic descriptions structurally consistent with generative grammars (cf. Fodor, 1977). The relative lack of concern with items as they occur in actual utterances is of course related to the second important general feature of contemporary research, viz. the rationalism which became explicit in Chomsky's later writings (Chomsky, 1966) and was foreshadowed by the familiar distinction between 'competence' and 'performance' in Syntactic Structures.

The rationalist reaction against the Bloomfieldian behaviourist tradition was undoubtedly justified in that (a) it was productive of valuable insights, as testified by the swift development of syntactic theory in the 1960s, and (b) behaviourism - together with other developments of logical positivism - is now generally regarded as

philosophically and scientifically untenable.

But the competence/performance distinction, however fruitful it has been in hastening development of theory by focussing attention on competence, has entailed overlooking certain areas - particularly the use of non-standard language such as Slang. If evidence can be obtained to show that non-standard forms can, for example, convey meaning of a kind which cannot be conveyed in standard utterances, it follows that the exclusion of such forms from theoretical consideration implies a deficiency, however minor, in the theory.

To look for evidence concerning the linguistic significance of utterances therefore demands investigation of areas outwith the currently-accepted domain of theoretical linguistics. It would therefore be unreasonable to assume *a priori* that the current rationalist methodology, largely characterised by reliance on the investigator's intuitions, can properly be applied in such areas. Indeed, since non-standard, perhaps even more than "standard", language usage can vary from individual to individual, reliance on any one individual's intuitions for investigating it would certainly be unsatisfactory. Investigation of the linguistic significance of non-standard utterances therefore seems to necessitate a partial reliance on an empiricist approach to language; but of course this approach need

not resemble that of Bloomfield and his school, and certainly should not entail a priori rejection of hypotheses and procedures generated by the rationalist approach. Rather, data should be collected and examined with a view to testing the applicability of such hypotheses and procedures and to constructing alternatives where necessary.

Since this thesis is concerned with an area of non-standard English, viz. Slang, the research was conducted along the following lines. Initially, experimental data were collected by the use of a questionnaire. The data were analysed with the aid of statistical techniques to elicit socio-linguistic information. The data were then examined with a view to determining whether Slang items carried semantic import not carried by the nearest Standard English alternatives. The results of this examination led me to attempt to apply to the data those semantic analysis techniques which have been developed through the rationalist approach to language study. An alternative procedure for semantic analysis was also applied and the strengths and weaknesses of these approaches were compared. These attempts at semantic analysis of Slang items led to the introduction of the notion of 'fuzzy components', indicating a convergence of linguistic research in this area with recent developments in a branch of pure mathematics, viz. the theory of 'fuzzy sets'. A similar convergence with 'fuzzy set' theory has recently occurred in research in the field of phonology (Fudge, 1978).

Thus, the thesis is devoted to an examination of the linguistic significance of lexical items in an area of non-standard English and to the problems of giving an adequate semantic account of such items. For the reasons discussed above, its approach is initially empirical, but attempts are made to relate the findings to contemporary rationalist views of semantics.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Previous epistemological categorisations of semantics have apparently relegated Slang to the level of stylistic meaning. For example Leech (1974) refers to Slang only as an element of stylistic meaning, excluding it from his six other types of meaning. Certainly, he says it may come into the category of affective meaning:-

1. "Will you belt up."

he says, is used to express our emotions to the addressee, but he also states (my underlining):- "Affective meaning is largely a parasitic category in the sense that to express our emotions we rely upon the mediation of other categories of meaning - conceptual, connotative or stylistic. Emotional expression through style comes about .... (as in 4).."
In this analysis, Slang is one of a large number of subsets of style, which Leech sub-categorises as follows. A. (Relatively permanent features) including Individuality, Dialect (regional or social) and Time (e.g. 18th century language); B. Discourse:- Medium and Participation; and C. (relatively temporary features):- Province (Language of law, science or advertising etc.), equivalent to Partridge's Jargon; Status (Polite, Colloquial, Slang etc.); Modality (Language of memoranda, lectures, jokes etc.); Singularity (The style of Dickens etc.). This taxonomy unfortunately does not solve all the problems relating to the analysis

of Slang, however. For example, Leech goes on to explain as a difference of Status (see above) the differences between:-

2. "They chucked a stone at the cops, and then did a bunk with the loot."

3. "After casting a stone at the police, they absconded with the money."

He describes 2. as possibly being said by two criminals in conversation, and 3. as possibly being written by a Chief Constable in his report, thus introducing socio-linguistic as well as stylistic factors which he does not expand on. In fact, working within the framework given by Leech, I would have differentiated between these sentences in terms of Individuality/Singularity (I am not sure of the dividing line there), Medium and Modality as well as Status. Leech's particular choice of supposed speaker/writer also implies that 2. might be couched in Cant terms, but the items used are understood and used outside the criminal sub-culture and are therefore Slang terms. Without more objective evidence on the nature and uses of Slang, perhaps it would be less misleading to suggest that 2. might have been <u>said</u> by the Chief Inspector to a colleague or his wife, and 3. <u>written</u> by him in his report.

It is not only within an individual taxonomy of semantics that such complications and implicit assumptions arise. When comparing one such system with another many difficulties of

terminology are found e.g. Ullmann (1964) writes: "the so-called 'evocative' elements (which) place our style in a particular register (literary, colloquial, slangy)", where register is apparently equivalent to Leech's Status; "associate it [style] with a particular milieu, (a) historical, (b) foreign, (c) provincial, (d) professional etc.)", where milieu (a) is apparently equivalent to Leech's Time; (b) ?perhaps not correctly included as English other than as Individual or Dialectal, (c) = Leech's Dialect and (d) = Leech's Province (= Partridge's Jargon (Partridge, 1933)). (Further examples of such difficulties are given in the Discussion Section.) Alongside and contributing to this confusion in the realm of taxonomy is the fact that many of the statements made about Slang and its position in language are based on assumptions or intuitions about the nature of Slang and not on any objective evidence. For instance, Turner (1973) (my underlining):- "Even more dating [than pronunciation] is the use of slang, since this changes rapidly, and a well-meaning parent attempting sociable informality with his sons and daughters risks many a stylistic infelicity." Many of these assumptions and intuitions may be correct but it was felt that objective evidence should be sought to ascertain whether they can be corroborated.

In an attempt to establish this evidence a questionnaire was designed concentrating on the use of Slang terms for women. This set of items was chosen because of their large

number, their apparently wide range of meaning, and their familiarity to the majority of the population. A number of Slang verb phrases was also included to establish whether the general findings for the above group were also valid for a completely different set of Slang terms.

The object of the questionnaire was first to discover what (if any) socio-linguistic features were apparent in Slang usage, and second to establish whether the Slang items used in answer to the questionnaire differed from one another in other respects than the aspects of style referred to above. The first of these aims is examined in this chapter.

METHODS

In the questionnaire (Appendix 1) I decided to concentrate on Slang terms for women because this field has a large number of items in it which are widely known and used, and it is a field in which finer distinctions of meaning are possible than in e.g. the range of Slang terms for unintelligent people. Four questions (A12-A15) however require verb phrases as answers. These were included to discover whether any differences of usage occurred between noun phrases and verb phrases in Slang.

The personal information requested of the subjects was kept to a minimum in order to preserve anonymity and

to avoid offending subjects. Thus as can be seen (Appendix 1), the only personal information asked for was the sex of the informant and the age category to which he/she belonged. Any attempt to form age categories must be essentially arbitrary, and the reasons for choosing those used were as follows. The under 20s are principally school children with a few young students who might still be using the Slang items used in their schools. In practice, due to the nature of the Slang being investigated all in this age group were teenagers. School children were included in the sample to discover whether or not they were responsible for the introduction of new Slang items, and whether their Slang differed in any way from that of their parents and teachers. The second age group 20-29 was designed to include young people no longer directly influenced by school language, adults rather than children, who might perhaps show more individuality in their Slang usage. This age group also principally comprised young people not yet permanently settled in life i.e. mainly students. Those who are in this age group but are also permanently settled can be identified by the 'social group' marking on the questionnaire. The next group 30-44 includes those who are settled in life but who are still too young to have fought in the Second World War. Those in the last category, 45 and over, are old enough to have fought or had friends fighting in the last war, and might be expected to make

more use than the other age groups of Slang items introduced by the servicemen.

Finally, each questionnaire that was sent out had a code to identify the group of people to whom it was sent. These categories were: Glasgow City Police; Royal Ordnance Factory, Renfrewshire; Edinburgh School Children (Tynecastle); Edinburgh School Children (George Watson's College); London School Children (Harringay); Edinburgh School Teachers; London School Teachers; Edinburgh Napier College Students; Edinburgh Napier College Lecturers; Edinburgh University Students; Miscellaneous Adults.

Any attempt to discover the regional origin of individual subjects is fraught with difficulty - some will enter their place of birth though they may only have lived there for a few months, others might give their present home address though they may only have lived there a year or so as opposed to 15 or 20 years somewhere else. Therefore, as the object of the questionnaire was to elicit information on Slang, not Dialect, it was felt that the distribution of forms to the groups mentioned above would give sufficient information on the regions in which a particular item is current.

The questionnaire was designed in three sections. Section A was designed to find out what each subject would say in a particular situation, mostly in hypothetical and

unnatural dialogue with a friend. The sentences in Section A are not ones which are likely ever to be uttered, rather they were intended to describe a situation. To have made the sentences more realistic, e.g. by using a more informal Slangy style, could have influenced the subjects' answers, since such terminology would naturally reflect the usage of a speaker of one age group and sex. Section B was designed to find out whether people are prepared to attach labels to others not on the evidence of their appearance or behaviour as in Section A, but on the evidence of their speech - not necessarily how they say it, as in most Dialect and accent studies, but on what they say. Section C comprised brief descriptions similar to those found in dictionaries and encyclopaedias to which the subjects were asked to attach what they thought was an appropriate label. No context was provided for the descriptions , so the task was more abstract than in Section A.

No abstention column such as that advocated by Leech (1970) was included in the questionnaire since in this case the subjects were not being asked to choose between opposites. However, a slightly more sophisiticated abstention mechanism is intrinsic in the form since it was possible for the subject (a) to use a Standard English item, indicating "I have no Slang item for this situation"; or (b) to leave a blank (or --), indicating "I do not know what word I would use in this situation".

Tables 1.A1 to 1.C12 (see Appendix 3) list the items which occurred 10 or more times in each answer on the questionnaire. All other items occurring in an answer are classed together as Miscellaneous. The number of occurrences of these items, and the total number of items used in the answer, are recorded in each case. Beneath each of these tables is the corresponding statistical analysis of the age and sex biases of all the items occurring 10 or more times and of the Miscellaneous category. This analysis involved determination of the significance of age and sex differences by means of χ^2 tests, which were carried out using the MATLAB STATISTICS programme of the Department of Computer Studies, Napier College,Edinburgh. Significance was accepted at the 5% level.

Table 2.1.A. shows the frequency of occurrence of individual items over the whole relevant section of the questionnaire i.e. Section A (1-11), Section B and Section C. The breakdown of users into age and sex groups is only given for items with 10 or more occurrences overall. Other items, classed together as Miscellaneous, are listed below the table with their total number of occurrences. Table 2.1.B. shows the statistical analysis of the items in Table 2.1.A., carried out as for Tables 1.A1-1.C12. Tables 2.2.A. and 2.2.B. directly correspond with Tables 2.1.A. and 2.1.B. but deal with the verb phrases in the remaining section of the questionnaire: Section A (12-15).

Table 3 is included as further explanation of Table 2.1.A. It shows over how many questions individual items were spread and indicates the average frequency of occurrence per question of each item.

Tables 4A and 4B illustrate social group differences showing the number of occurrences of each item (which occurs 20 or more times overall) used by two groups. Group A - Middle Class, comprises the Edinburgh School Children (George Watson's College) and Napier College Lecturers (Total 75). Group B - Working Class, comprises the Edinburgh School Children (Tynecastle) and the Royal Ordnance Factory subjects (Total 76). The statistical significance is determined as in previous tables by a χ^2 test.

Table 5 comprises an analysis of the number of individual items used by each age group and sex, and a comparison of these figures. Normality of the distribution was established by χ^2 tests and homogeneity of variance by Bartlett's test. Significance of the differences between the figures was then determined by one-way analysis of variance.

RESULTS

Out of the 500 questionnaires distributed, 296 were returned of which 5 had not been completed throughout. (The answers given on these 5 are included in all the result

tables normally, but they were not taken into account in Table 5 since they could not be compared with the questionnaires which had been fully answered.) The over-all totals (ranging from 288 to 340) in Tables 1.A1-1.C12 differ because of some cases where alternatives were given and both were included, or where one answer might give two items (e.g. in 1.C12 Fat Boot would be included in Fat and in Boot), and because in a few cases the answer was illegible. The superscript ' + number' in the Male Total column in Tables 1.A1-1.C12 and 2.1.A and 2.2.A are the results from questionnaires in which no indication of age was given. From each of the social groups mentioned in the methods section the following numbers were returned: Edinburgh School Children (Tynecastle) 42; Edinburgh School Children (George Watson's College) 56; London School Children (Harringay) 11; Napier College (Edinburgh) Students 29; Edinburgh University Students 28; London Teachers 11; Edinburgh Teachers 0; Royal Ordnance Factory, Renfrewshire 34; Glasgow City Police 23; Napier College Lecturers 19; Miscellaneous Adults 43.

Although the number of separate items received as answers to each question varied from 29 (A.10) to 79 (B.4) (see Table 1), the evidence of the shortened tables for the individual questions indicates that the number of items used by more than 10 people was very much smaller, i.e. ranging from 1(1.A10) to 9(1.A4 and 1.C2). Even these

figures exaggerate the range of items used by the majority of people in a given situation for it can be seen that in many of the shortened tables 1.A1 to 1.C12, one or two items appeared in more than 20% of the answers: e.g. Old Bag and Woman (1.A1), Tart (1.A2), Shut Up and Belt Up (1.A15). It is also worth noting that a few items occurred with high frequency in answer to more than one question: thus (Old) Bitch(y) occurs in 1.A1, 1.A6, 1.B3, 1.B4, 1.C3, 1.C7, 1.C10. Tart also occurs in several of the shortened tables: 1.A2, 1.A3, 1.A5, 1.A9, 1.B4, 1.C2, 1.C5, 1.C9.

No-one necessarily uses all the words which they understand. The evidence of the Acceptability Test indicates that only rarely is a Slang word of the type being studied completely unfamiliar to a member of a group which does not use that word. (See Chapter 2). However, the use of some items is linked to the age, sex and social group of the speaker. Some of these differences were present in the results obtained from the questionnaire. There were no observable distinctions between the differences of usage of the noun phrases and the verb phrases (cf. Tables 2.1.B and 2.2.B).

Out of the 99 items which occurred frequently enough to merit inclusion in Tables 2.1.A and 2.2.A (excluding the noun and verb phrases MISCELLANEOUS and ----- categories) 38 showed a statistically significant relationship with age. As can be seen age differences of all sorts occurred:

e.g. Tart was overwhelmingly popular with the under 20 age group but correspondingly unpopular with all other groups. (Old) Bag was very popular with the under 20s but surprisingly only significantly under used by the 30-44 age group. Certain items e.g. Tub, Dame, Beat It, evidently belong to the regular vocabulary of the 45 and over group but are used to a statistically expected extent (i.e. to an extent which is attributable to chance distribution) by the other age groups. Items do not always have a regular scale of usage, i.e. because a word is most popular with the under 20s it is not necessarily less popular with the 20-29s, even less so with the 30-44s and least popular of all with the 45 and overs. Pig, for instance, was exceptionally popular with the 20-29s, exceptionally little used by the 30-44s but used to a statistically expected extent by both the under 20s and the 45 and overs. Slang items are partly characterised therefore not only by those who use them, but also by those who do not use them. Thus some Slang words can be seen to be going out of fashion, presumably eventually to die out altogether; e.g.the 45 and over group showed a significant bias ($p < .001$) in favour of Nark, while the under 20s showed an equally significant bias against it. The 30-44 and 45 and over age groups showed a significantly above average use ($p < .001$) of Floosy while the under 20s showed an equal avoidance of it. Beat It also seems to be an item of the

45 and over group which is not used by the under 20s ($p < .05$).

The above provide evidence for the ephemeral nature of some Slang items. This constitutes empirical support for the hypotheses on the high turnover rate of Slang vocabulary put forward, e.g. in the Random House Dictionary (1967) and by Brander Mathews (1893) (see Discussion Section below).

Coinciding with the disappearance of some items is the appearance in the results of some apparently new ones, e.g. Boot used by the under 20s but not by those of 30 and upwards ($p < .01$). However the history of Slang is not a simple progression of items appearing and gradually disappearing again, introduced by youngsters and eventually eliminated when their innovators die. Some Slang which was made generally known by the servicemen has been adopted by a generation too young to have learned it at first hand; e.g. Bint in this questionnaire was used ($p < .001$) by the 20-29 as well as the 45 and over age group, but was significantly under used by the under 20s. It is interesting to note in this case that the intervening 30-44 age group used the item only to a statistically expected degree. Some words are evidently predominantly the property of a particular age group, e.g. Trendy was used by the 20-29 age group but avoided by all others ($p < .001$); Ride was

also used by the 20-29s ($p < .05$) but to a statistically expected extent by everyone else. Pig was predominantly used by the 20-29s and equally avoided by the 30-44s ($p < .001$). Biddy and Nagger were mostly used by the 30-44 age group ($p < .001$ and .05 respectively); Fuck Off was used mainly by the 20-29 age group; and Cocked It Up by the 30-44 group (in both cases $p < .05$).

Moll, which occurred principally in answer to A4 and C6, had a very uneven distribution between these questions. It occurred 20 times in 1.A4, increasing its use with age ($p < .001$), but 132 times in 1.C6, increasing in use with age ($p < .005$) i.e. it occurred 6.6 times more frequently in 1.C6 than in 1.A4. An explanation for this discrepancy could be that while a large number of people are familiar with the word, i.e. know what it means, only a few of those people would actually use it in normal speech. Use of Moll in speech also apparently increases more markedly with increased age of the subject than does familiarity with the term.

In all cases where age-loading was apparent, the same loading was apparent to the same level of significance in both sexes. In other words there were no sex differences in age-loadings.

The results also show that the use of some Slang items was sex-linked. For example, there is some

indication that originality in the use of Slang is linked to sex. In both MISCELLANEOUS categories in 2.1.A and 2.2.A the items used by men far outnumbered those used by women ($p < .001$ in 2.1.A and $p < .005$ in 2.2.A) and in the case of 2.1.A a strong age bias was also detected: i.e. the 20-44 age groups used miscellaneous words very much more than the under 20s ($p < .001$). 25 out of the 99 items in Tables 2.1.A and 2.2.A showed this kind of link with the sex of the user: e.g. Bint was used more by men than women, ($p < .01$), Scarper was used more by women than men ($p < .05$). Some linguistically interesting differences were seen with pairs of items, e.g. Bird was used overwhelmingly by males ($p < .001$) in almost entirely the same contexts as Girl was used by females ($p < .001$). Another pair which showed a complementary sex bias was Pain in the Arse/Ass used by males ($p < .001$), and Pain in the Neck used by females ($p < .05$). The inference to be drawn from this last example, namely that women for the most part use the more polite while men use the more obscene items, was not fully substantiated in the results. Certainly Ride was used predominantly by men ($p < .01$), as were all the Bit of/Piece of ... items ($p < .005$). Also, Piss Off, Fuck Off and Fucked It Up were used mainly by males ($p < .05$, .05 and .005 respectively), while Mucked It Up was used mainly by females ($p < .05$). However, some items which are also in the less polite/obscene category showed no statistically significant bias of this kind,

e.g. Cunt, Whore, Bike, Bugger Off and Cocked It Up. On the other hand, some of the most "acceptable" Slang items (see Discussion Section below and Chapter 2) showed a sex bias towards women, e.g. Girlfriend ($p < .001$), Woman ($p < .005$), Girl ($p < .001$), Tub ($p < .05$) and Blew ($p < .05$). The overwhelming bias of Man/Felly etc. ($p < .001$) to women is, of course, entirely attributable to a natural answer to some of the questions, e.g. A11. It seems, then, from the evidence that there is a tendency for men to choose less acceptable and women more acceptable items, but that this is no more than a general trend. There are several instances where this is not the case, and the choice seems to be influenced as much as anything by the specific items available, i.e. some items may be considered more obscene if used by women than by men, some others may appear rather 'soft' or 'cissy' if used by a man, while some items both obscene and polite are apparently of equal status whoever uses them.

The age and sex differences of usage mentioned above have all been based on Tables 2.1.A and 2.2.A, and these in most cases agree with the results set out in the individual question Tables 1.A1-1.C12, e.g. Pain in the Arse, male usage greater than female, ($p < .05$) in 1.B2, and ($p < .001$) in 2.1.B; Girl used by women more than men ($p < .01$) in 1.C8, and ($p < .001$) in 2.1.B; Bird used by men more than women ($p < .001$) in 1.C1 and 2.1.B; Split

showed decreased use with age ($p < .05$) in 1.A14 and 2.2.B; Doll showed increased usage with age ($p < .005$) in 1.C5 and ($p. < .001$) in 2.1.B. However, in a few cases this agreement is not found: e.g. Bird overall was used by males more than females ($p < .001$), but in 1.A7 there is no statistically significant sex difference. Therefore, the set of all contexts in which females use Bird is a proper subset of the set of all contexts in which males use Bird. Also, Cow, which shows an age bias in 2.1.B of more than average use by the under 20 age group and less than average use by all other age groups ($p < .001$), in the Table 1.C2 has an opposite age bias - increased use with age ($p < .05$). This provides some evidence for the hypothesis that a Slang word may have different shades of meaning (see Chapter 4), some of which in this case are specifically linked with it by one age group, while other age groups principally use the word in different senses. Thus Cow to the under 20s generally means someone bad-tempered and unpleasant (see A1, A6, B1, B3, B4, C3, C7, C10), although they evidently understand the term to mean 'a woman of immoral habits' as they, as well as the older age groups, use it in C2 and in A5. This evidence, in conjunction with the evidence on age and sex bias in Slang (above), indicates that consciously or unconsciously people are aware that particular items are more or less appropriate to speakers of particular groups, and that they will generally abide by such informal rules in their Slang

speech.

Items in the MISCELLANEOUS categories provided some information particularly on the emergence of Slang terms. Obviously, since they are in the MISCELLANEOUS section, no claim could be made that any of these terms are presently widespread in use. A few items are so complicated as to imply that they were invented for the nonce, and one would be surprised if such items ever gained general currency, e.g. Turkish Wrestler's Semmit C11. Many others show the appeal of metaphor, e.g. Groundsheet and Pincushion C2, Dulux and Chameleon C9. Nor is there any doubt that current affairs and television also provide inspiration for the inventor of Slang, e.g. Money-grabbing Arab B3 (possibly a product of the oil boom), Bionic Coupon C9, Rackel C9 (from Raquel Welch?), Elliot Ness C6 and Margo of "The Good Life" B2. By no means all the words in the MISCELLANEOUS section are new or original, however; many are quite widespread but were simply not generally felt to be appropriate for the answers required, e.g. Crawler, Cat, Two-timer, Skinflint, Show Off and Side Kick.

Animal words made up a large category. Some were commonly used: Bitch, Cow, Bird, Chick, Pig and Bat; others only infrequently used: Porky, Pigeon, Wasp, Chameleon, Dragon, Swine, Hen, Grouse, Vixen, Mare,

Butterfly, Cat, Leech, Parasite, Crow, Puss, Crocodile, Love Birds, Duck, Shrew, and Sow - a total of 27 items, those in the MISCELLANEOUS category occurring a total of 58 times.

A very few items appeared to be regional: out of the 64 occurrences of Boot, 63 were in Scotland and 51 in the Edinburgh area. Out of 25 instances of Lumber 15 were in the Glasgow area, which indicates that although it is still chiefly used in its region of origin (Patrick, 1973), it has begun to spread a little to other parts of Scotland (only 1 occurrence in London).

Tables 4A and 4B show that some social group differences were apparent in the answers to the questionnaire. Social group differences, as sex differences (see above), appear to be partly linked with the acceptability of items, i.e. the middle class group used the most acceptable items - Girl ($p < .001$), Woman ($p < .001$), Girlfriend ($p < .001$), Female ($p < .001$), while the working class used the less acceptable terms - Bastard ($p < .001$), Ride ($p < .01$), Fuck Off ($p < .005$). However, this by no means accounts for all the social group differences, for some items are statistically significantly used by one group or the other irrespective of these items' acceptability, e.g. Slag used by middle class ($p < .001$), Whore used by middle class ($p < .01$), Buggered used by middle class ($p < .05$), Moan used by working class ($p < .05$), Doll used

by working class ($p < .005$), Chick used by working class ($p < .005$). Evidently, then, each social group, as well as sharing a large common core of Slang, has its own set of Slang terms spread over a wide range of acceptability, but one might tentatively suggest that the items at the very ends of the acceptability scale are significantly used by middle class speakers at one end and by working class speakers at the other.

DISCUSSION

The questionnaire could be criticised as a means of obtaining information about Slang on a number of grounds. It could be argued that since Slang is almost exclusively an oral form people are unaccustomed to writing or reading Slang items and the very fact that the answers had to be written would inhibit truthful replies. In order to encourage people to write down their Slang terms the lists of possible items were included in the questionnaire. The results indicate that whatever inhibitions people may have felt about writing Slang items were successfully overcome, since the proportion of Standard English words received as answers was certainly not large for the questions asked. The fact that a number of spelling mistakes occurred in returns from each of the social groups (e.g. Transversite presumably for

transvestite (A10, Royal Ordnance Factory); Bugar Off (A14, Edinburgh Student); Fuc Off (A15, Edinburgh Pupil, Tynecastle)); indicates that people were not afraid to attempt to write items with whose written form they were previously unfamiliar. Perhaps the anonymity of the return also encouraged people to write the item they would actually use. It might have been expected that the inclusion of the lists of Slang would lead to unbalanced results in that subjects who were lazy or unsure might simply pick an item from the list rather than the item they would actually use in that situation. However, out of 296 completed questionnaires, 2 used only words included in the lists and these might of course be genuine representations of the Slang usage of those subjects. The completely fake invented word scollop which appeared in the list as a control, appeared only four times out of a possible 8411 occurrences. In every other case the subjects appear to have fulfilled the requirements and written what they thought they would say.

Obviously the questionnaire is still an unnatural way of eliciting information about spoken language, but it appeared to be the best of the choices available. To have attempted to tape record interviews with a similar number of subjects would have been impractical in economic terms as well as in time. Nor could one expect any more reliable information since the anonymity of the subject

would not be maintained, and many people would have been very reluctant to admit to using more obscene items in front of a young female interviewer. The only other possibility, to tape record entirely natural conversation, would also have been impractical. The money and time required to record a sufficiently large number of people all discussing similar topics - in order that the Slang items used could reasonably be compared - exclude it as a feasible method.

In the results section several statements have been made about Slang and Slang items without any definition of these terms. As with many linguistic boundaries there is no specific indisputable dividing line separating Slang from Colloquial English or from Standard English. The difficulty of distinguishing different types of English in terms of colloquialness, formality and acceptability has long been recognised by lexicographers (Marckwardt, 1973). Several attempts have been made by different authors to define and characterize Slang; I shall not deal with the question of the provenance of Slang items but rather how to identify them as distinct from items from other varieties of English. In the Random House Dictionary (1967) Slang is described as "usually but not inevitably associated with the informal". It is "characterized by novelty and impermanence", and can be used to indicate that one is up to date, but of course

if misused would prove the opposite. Slang, says the Random House Dictionary, was once a synonym for Argot (itself a synonym for Cant (see below)), but now consists often of items derived from Argot (see also Maurer, 1973) but now in more widespread use. It is pointed out that although Slang items are frequently short-lived they are not all so: for instance, Moll is 17th century Slang and is still Slang. The Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English (1975) says that Slang is usually met in the spoken language and suggests an easy, intimate relationship between the speakers. It serves "to establish and reinforce the 'togetherness' of particular sub-groups in society e.g. the police, criminals, schoolboys etc. and their distinctness from other groups." Here Slang would appear to be being used as a synonym for what the Random House Dictionary terms Argot. Again, the point is made that it tends to date quickly. This Dictionary also states that taboo and Slang are separate classes of language. Greenough and Kittredge (1902) write: "Slang is commonly made by the use of harsh, violent or ludicrous metaphors, obscure analogies, meaningless words, and expressions derived from the less known and less esteemed vocations or customs." "It is sometimes humorous, witty and not seldom picturesque." Niceforo (1912) gives a similar opinion of the content of argot: "concrete terms, vivid metaphors, brilliant turns of phrase, contrasts, ellipsis

and abbreviations." Brander Matthews (1893) divides Slang into four main categories of origin and value: 1. thieves' Latin, i.e. Cant. 2. ephemeral phrases enjoying a short period of popularity before being totally forgotten. Class 2 words are rarely foul, as words of the first Class often are, but they are usually merely foolish catch phrases (e.g. What do you think of the show so far? and Nice one Cyril.) 3. Old and forgotten items, long lain dormant but now emerging again; and 4. New words and phrases often "vigorous and expressive" but still not generally accepted. He writes "It is the duty of slang to provide substitutes for the good words ... which are worn out by hard service." Cf. Turner (1973) "a battery of terms is necessary if any are to have enough freshness to give colour to intimate language."

A very comprehensive discussion of the views expressed on Slang is contained in Partridge (1933). It is worth pointing out that a large number of views on Slang, especially those relating to its use are views about its social role rather than about its purely linguistic properties (cf Partridge's (1933) 15 uses of Slang). While I shall not repeat Partridge's discussion, some of the statements above, and some in Partridge require further comment.

First, it is palpably not always the case that Slang,

as The Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English states, suggests easy, intimate relationship between the speakers. On the contrary, it is often chosen as the medium for extremely offensive abuse to total strangers. While certain people might tolerate being told to "Fuck Off" by a friend, and accept it as friendly raillery, they would not tolerate such a phrase from a complete stranger. Indeed, used by a stranger, it implies the intention to offend. On both occasions however, the phrase must be classed as Slang (see discussion of taboo below) since no reasonable linguistic distinction can be made on the basis of intention to give offence.

Second, as Partridge (1933) points out as one of his 15 reasons for why Slang is used (no. 14), sometimes it can be used to prove that someone does not belong to a particular social group; for instance, to speak of a Nark or a Dame or a Floosy to a school child might well make him feel 'left out'. Likewise, to talk of a Boot to one's parents might easily confuse them.

Third, while understanding what Brander Matthews (1893) means by "It is the duty of slang ..." (see above), one might take exception to his and Turner's apparently teleonomic (Monod, 1974) approach to a category of language. Also, since many of the Slang words which do so function are accused of the same vacuousness as those items they replace, it is doubtful whether they can be said to have

succeeded in any more than a transient way, e.g. such items as smashing, great, fantastic, fabulous and more recently magic, terrible, shocking, ghastly and chronic.

Fourth, the use of Slang to mean the specialised language of a trade or profession or sub-culture is, I think, unfortunate. Except in criminal groups where the primary motive is secrecy, such language normally refers to technicalities of a particular trade, e.g. spirometer (an apparatus for measuring how much you breathe) used by physiologists, to spin meaning to centrifuge, used in many laboratories. In looking through the results of the questionnaire, or through any dictionary of Slang, it will be seen that the vast majority of items do not denote specialised or technical items, e.g. the large number of Slang terms for drunkenness, women, brothels, walking/running (away), boasting, etc. Partridge (1933) makes a reasonable claim for separating Jargon or Shop as the specialized language of particular groups (he retains Argot with its original meaning of French Slang or Cant), from Slang. Perhaps it would clarify matters if a further distinction was made between Jargon and Shop, retaining Jargon to mean the technical terms specific to a particular trade or profession (I would include here non-vocational occupations such as mountaineering), e.g. spirometer (above); and Shop to mean the slang words specific to a particular trade or profession or

occupation, e.g. to spin (above), Rip Van Winkle Money 'money earned while sleeping on the way back to a depot', and boomerang 'return ticket' (McKenna, 1970), these latter two being Railwaymen's Shop. This further distinction avoids the previous confusion whereby Partridge would have called this vocational slang Jargon or Shop, being undistinguished from technical vocational language, while Turner called it Slang, not distinguishing it terminologically from what Partridge means by Slang.

Partridge (1933) gives as the criteria for Jargon items becoming Slang: "Such special words and phrases become Slang (a) only when they are used outside the vocational group and then (b) only if they change their meaning or are applied in others ways". The most obvious examples of items thus changing category are medical, particularly psychiatric terms, e.g. Nymphomaniac is occasionally used correctly, i.e. as Jargon by lay people, but generally, particularly in its shortened form Nympho, is used as Slang for a sexually promiscuous woman. Also cholesterol as Biochemical Jargon is a specific compound, but used e.g. in "a low cholesterol diet" it means fat - any fat. On the other hand, Shop items would become Slang merely by being used by people outside the vocational group. Cant, as a particular, very comprehensive type of Jargon and Shop, i.e. of criminals, is also a useful distinct

category. It is because of its long history (examples of Cant can be found, e.g. in the Elizabethan era (in Shakespeare's "The Winter's Tale" doxy, troll-my-dames appear Act IV, Scene 3, lines 2 and 91 respectively) (see Barber, 1976: p.45)); and, since the primary reason for its existence is to achieve absolute concealment from outsiders of plans and discussions of the members of the criminal fraternity, because of its extremely large vocabulary compared to other forms of Jargon and Shop that I consider it is useful as a distinct category.

From the evidence of the results obtained from the questionnaire it does not seem possible to justify separating taboo items from Slang as The Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English (1975) does, e.g. the answers to A15 include:- Fuck Off, Piss Off, Pea Off, Bugger Off, Get Lost, Scarper, Shift and Leave, which all mean principally the same thing, i.e. Go away. Yet the first three or four items would by most people be classed as taboo, the next three as Slang and the last as Standard English, (see supporting evidence from the Acceptability Test, Chapter 2). The widespread use of taboo items such as those above in answering the questionnaire suggests that they should be, and indeed are, considered to be a part of Slang. So, rather than being accounted a separate category of English, taboo should really be considered a subset of Slang.

The problem of distinguishing Slang from other types of English, e.g. Standard English and Colloquial English, is seldom tackled other than by stating a few qualities, real or imaginary, of Slang items, e.g. ephemerality, informality; and by relying on intuition. This would seem to be true of the majority of the accounts mentioned above. However, in order that Slang should be a category capable of semantic analysis it is necessary to distinguish it more clearly not only from minor forms of non-standard English (as has been attempted above), but also to distinguish it from Standard English and from Colloquial English. Initially one must consider in what possible ways one could distinguish different registers. (I use register to mean: Standard English, Colloquial English, Slang, Dialect (which for some people is a register in that they can choose when to use it as opposed to e.g. Standard English (Trudgill, 1974): p.115) while for others who cannot discard it at will it is equivalent to a regional Standard and a regional Colloquial English, Jargon, Shop and Cant.)

It is insufficient to rely on stating the qualities of Slang items for there are always exceptions to be found, e.g. Moll will not conform to the ephemeral quality of Slang (see above). Examples are often quoted of Slang words which have 'gained respectability', i.e. become Standard English: Mob was 18th century Slang.

But there are also examples of the opposite trend: Kinky, which is now practically extinct as a Standard English item, is still current as Slang. Perhaps then one could distinguish between the registers by each being used for a different purpose. This approach is used partly by Partridge (1933) in his 15 reasons for the use of Slang, and also by Turner (1973) who suggests that Slang can be used to hide one's true feelings and thoughts. This method of separation is not as useful as it may at first appear, for one may think of examples where some other register is used for the same purpose: to take Turner's reason for using Slang, this purpose could as well be filled by choosing vague Standard English words, complicated syntactic constructions (in which meaning can be completely obscured) or simple deceit in any register. To Partridge's points one can also think of complications: e.g. for no. 14. "To show or prove that someone is not 'in the swim'", Jargon, Shop, Slang or (if the victim is not well-educated) long, intellectual Standard English words, or even choice of subject matter may be used; for no. 2. "As an exercise either in wit and ingenuity or in humour", Slang, excessively formal/ intellectual Standard English, choice of subject matter and a wide range of rhetorical devices may be used - Alexander Pope could be said to have used language frequently for this purpose, but he seldom used Slang to make his point. This approach in itself, therefore,

is unable to give clear distinctions between the registers.

Attempts to distinguish the registers on purely social grounds are also found lacking. The evidence of the questionnaire indicates that Slang is by no means confined to one particular sector of the population, but as a register it is used by all age groups, sexes and social classes. The often heard accusation that Slang is the possession solely of disreputable persons (implied, though perhaps unintentionally, by Leech (1974), see Introduction above) is clearly ill-founded. Colloquial English can be and is used by everyone; and Standard English, while perhaps having a more restricted number of users, is very far from being confined to any one social group.

Nor does it seem feasible to separate the registers on purely semantic grounds, as Slang and Standard English frequently have items with the same conceptual meaning (I use Leech's (1974) categories), as was shown quite clearly in the questionnaire. The use of an item in Slang may give reflected meaning to its Standard English homophone, e.g. Cock, Ass etc. It is difficult to see how one could distinguish between the registers even on the basis of stylistic meaning - a word from each register would have some stylistic meaning, though like two words from the same register these stylistic meanings might

or might not overlap. Any further attempt to separate the registers through stylistic meaning would necessitate falling back on Status, but even then, since the Acceptability Test (Chapter 2) shows that there is polite and impolite Slang, the separation achieved would be by circular argument, i.e. these different register items are different because they belong to different registers. It still does not provide us with any criteria for attributing particular items to particular registers. (This topic is discussed further in Chapter 4.)

Separation by linguistic criteria is a little more practicable, and can establish some, though not all, the distinguishing features. Colloquial English is generally understood to be the English of everyday speech, and I think that this is the basis on which to distinguish it from Standard English. I would propose, therefore, that Standard English should be understood to be the English language written down in speeches, sermons (though these are sometimes archaic), 'good' newspaper copy (not headlines) etc. It consists of the type of language which is usually studied by linguists:- complete sentences, simple, complex and compound; it is the 'correct' language taught in prescriptive grammars - sentences do not begin with conjunctions, prepositions do not usually end the sentence, etc.

Colloquial English on the other hand, as the spoken language, differs linguistically from Standard English principally in its syntax. Its sentences are often incomplete, and seldom contain many subordinate clauses. Intonation patterns and pause distribution may also be found to differ from those used in spoken Standard English. Although generally Colloquial English uses Standard English vocabulary, some (a) phrases, (b) words and (c) 'conversation helpers' (including extra-linguistic fillers) belong mainly to this register. For example (a) How do you do?, Pleased to meet you; (b) terrible, awful, marvellous (some of these items may make their way into Standard English, but while they are frowned upon as 'incorrect usage' in written work, I propose they should be treated as belonging to the Colloquial register); (c) Really! Oh, mmh, don't you? isn't it?

Slang cannot normally be distinguished from Standard and Colloquial English by its syntax, although the syntax of particular lexical items can occasionally be differentiated in these registers, e.g.

4. The girl went into the shop.

is a perfectly acceptable Standard English sentence, while

5. I went to the cinema with my girl.

is not. In Standard English it is not possible to indicate possession of girl or woman, so when used in this way these items must be regarded as Slang. While this use

of girl is recorded in Partridge (1961), the use of woman in this context is not. Both words however occurred in answer to question A11, so presumably this Slang use of woman (peak use by the 20-29 age group) is a fairly recent innovation. Since Slang shares its prosodic features with Colloquial English, the main point of difference between Slang and Standard and Colloquial English is in vocabulary. This statement is based on intuition since a large body of empirical data would be required to establish possible objective bases for the distinction between these registers. The vocabulary of Slang is generally quite separate from that of the other two registers under discussion and includes catch-phrases, taboo words, swear words, disreputable and other items. A glance at the items used in answer to the questionnaire shows that most items of Slang vocabulary do not appear at all in Standard or Colloquial English, while others have a totally different meaning from their Standard/ Colloquial English homophones, only a very few being close in meaning to their homophones (see girl/woman above).

This definition is evidently still deficient in a number of respects. There is obviously some connection between particular registers and particular situations. The solution to this difficulty seems to lie in identifying social situations in which each register would be used, while avoiding the unmanageable plethora of overlapping

conditions which arise from an attempt to identify the purposes for which the registers can be used. Therefore, one can state that Standard English is the register of written English (including English written to be read aloud) except where a particular situation arises to change that, e.g. in a novel where speech is being reproduced in the Colloquial register, or in a letter to a friend in which either Colloquial or Slang register or both may be employed. Different registers may be used in a single context: for instance, a speech may contain a Standard English introduction but principally consist of Jargon if it is addressed to a trade meeting. Formality or lack of it is obviously a factor in the situation in which a register is used, but it can be misleading to see these registers as irrevocably linked:-

Standard English	Colloquial English	Slang
↓	↓	↓
Formal	Neutral	Informal

as it is obviously possible to use Standard English in an informal situation, e.g.

6. We went to the cinema

could appear in a police report (formal) or in answer to a good friend's question (informal). Colloquial English also covers a wide range of formal-informal situations. As suggested above it can occur in written

English (it is sometimes employed in advertising) but it is principally the language of most spoken English. One might use only Standard English (if one is a very good speaker) when being interviewed by one's superior, but in most exchanges at work, or when meeting people at a cocktail party, for instance, one would mostly use Colloquial English. It is the register used to address anyone one does not know very well, whether equals or where the speakers are in a superior to inferior relationship to each other. Even when the intention is to be friendly, Slang is usually avoided except when talking to an intimate friend, or in a comparatively private place, e.g. three men/women at work who know each other well might use Slang if no-one was about. The distinction between Colloquial English and Slang in terms of friendliness/intimacy of the situation would lead one to classify hello as Colloquial but How's things then as Slang. Slang may also be used in what one would expect to be a formal, or relatively formal situation, where its use is often intended to cause offence, e.g. swearing at a Traffic Warden who has just given one a parking ticket.

Still one has not fully differentiated between Colloquial English and Slang. How is one to distinguish the 'other items' of Slang mentioned above? This distinction, I feel, can only be made by also taking account of the users of the registers. Standard English

is used by all who have had sufficient education to know in what ways this register differs from their regional Dialect and from Colloquial English. Colloquial English is available to and used by all native English speakers. Slang, as a register, from the evidence of the questionnaire, is used by at least a very large proportion of the population, but it differs from Colloquial English in that an individual Slang item is actually used by relatively small sections of the population though usually such items are generally understood (see evidence of Acceptability Test, Chapter 2). The section of the population which uses an item is distinguished not by trade or occupation (including non-professional pastimes), which would mark the item as Jargon, Shop or Cant, nor by geographical region or by social class in which case it would be Dialect, (the evidence for the existence of social class dialects in Britain is not conclusive) but possibly by age or sex grouping (though usually these distinctions are not absolute) or by a more or less unidentifiable section of the general population. On this basis I would assign the following phrases:-

7. A lot/large amount of information
8. A mass of information
9. A mass of info

to these registers:- 7. Standard English; 8. Colloquial

English; 9. Slang.

These criteria seem to give a reasonably comprehensive method for distinguishing the various registers, and provide a more objective framework for classifying particular items than has been available in the past.

SUMMARY

1. A questionnaire designed to elicit information about the use of Slang terms for women and a few Slang verb phrases was circulated to a wide range of subjects.

2. 40 items out of 103 (excluding the components of the miscellaneous categories) showed an age bias in their users. These biases cannot wholly be explained in terms of Slang items being introduced (young users) or dying out (older users), for a number of items apparently 'belonged' to one or other of the intermediate age groups.

3. 30 items out of 103 showed a sex bias in their users. There was some evidence to suggest that men used less acceptable terms than women, but the distinction was not absolute.

4. 17 items out of 72 (see Methods section for Tables 4A and 4B) showed a social group bias

in their users. Again there was some evidence to suggest that this bias was linked to the acceptability of items - working class users choosing less acceptable items than middle class - but this distinction was not absolute.

5. Most items were familiar to all age groups, sexes and social groups despite the biases mentioned above.

6. A new taxonomy of English register has been proposed in which seven classes exist, namely: Standard English, Colloquial English, Slang, Dialect, Jargon, Shop and Cant. Clear definitions are given for Jargon, Shop and Cant.

7. An attempt has been made to distinguish between the three main registers: Standard English, Colloquial English, and Slang in terms of syntax, vocabulary, social situation and extent of use.

CHAPTER TWO

INTRODUCTION

The results described in the previous chapter indicated that males tended to use less acceptable items than females, and working class subjects tended to use less acceptable items than middle class subjects. These conclusions evidently relied on an intuitive assessment of acceptability. While there are certain items (e.g. taboo words) for which one would expect an intuitive assessment of acceptability to be shared by most subjects, for several items occurring in answer to the questionnaire, it is difficult to judge whether a personal intuitive acceptability assessment would be so widely corroborated (e.g. doll, bird). The present chapter is therefore devoted to an attempt to evaluate acceptability more objectively.

The following questions can be asked in this context about Slang items:-

1. By what means can acceptability be measured?
2. Does a Slang item show the same acceptability rating irrespective of the linguistic context in which it occurs, or does the rating vary from one context to another?
3. Given that one class of subjects (A) uses an

item more frequently than another class (B), is this because A regards the item as more acceptable than does B?

A second questionnaire, the "acceptability test", was designed to answer these questions. Details of this test and of its use in the collection of data are given below. The results are discussed in the light of the findings presented in Chapter One.

METHODS

The test (see App. 2) comprised eight sentences, each containing a choice of Slang items. The items used were selected for their general popularity (see Table 2.1.A) and so as to cover a wide range of intuitive acceptability. Subjects were asked to rate the acceptability of each item specified in each sentence, assuming they had heard the sentence spoken by a person whom they did not know well. This limitation was designed to 'freeze' the social context in which the linguistic contexts appear in order to dispose of this extra variable. While social context is generally thought to affect the acceptability of items (see Chapter 1, Discussion Section), in practice it would be extremely difficult to investigate in a test of this sort, due to the difficulty of distinguishing social contexts sufficiently clearly. Personal information about subjects was confined, as described for the questionnaire

in Chapter One, to sex and age-range. The social group markings in this instance were confined to middle and working class. The subjects were selected from the population as for the questionnaire with the exception of the school children and the Glasgow Police, who were not included as subjects for this test.

Treatment of Data. A 100 mm line representing the acceptability scale was divided into four 25 mm sections, giving acceptability ratings of 1 (lowest acceptability (0-24 mm) to 4 (highest acceptability (75-100 mm)), for the purpose of χ^2 tests. These four sections were chosen so that each would include one of the named points on the scale, since a number of subjects only gave values equivalent to these points, i.e. the ratings were not statistically normally distributed.

(a) An overall acceptability measure for each item was calculated as a simple average of the total rating scores on the line (0 = totally unacceptable, 100 = totally acceptable). This value can then be regarded as an average percentage acceptability.

(b) Differences in ratings between the two sexes and two social classes were calculated as follows. The number of ratings in each of the four sections for one group from each pair of groups was multiplied by the ratio of the number of subjects in the second group to that in the first group, to give the statistically expected

number of ratings in each of the four sections in the second group. That is, suppose the numbers of subjects in group A and group B are N_A and N_B respectively. Of the subjects in A, n_{A1} would give the item an acceptability rating of 1, n_{A2} would rate it 2, etc., so that $n_{A1} + n_{A2} + n_{A3} + n_{A4} = N_A$. If the ratings given by A and B are proportionately equivalent then it would be expected that $N_B/N_A \times N_{A1}$ subjects in group B would give the item an acceptability rating of 1, and so on. A χ^2 test was then performed on the expected results against the observed results for the second group.

The calculation of age-differences in acceptability rating was performed similarly. The expected values for the acceptability ratings given by the four age-groups were calculated essentially by the method described above from (1) the total number of individuals in each age-group, (2) the overall allocation of each item to the four acceptability ratings.

(c) Differences between acceptabilities of items in different contexts were also determined by a χ^2 test. The overall allocations of the four acceptability ratings to an item in one question (i.e. the total scores using all 135 subjects) was compared with the overall allocation to the same item in another question.

In some cases, where very small numbers of subjects

allocated an item to a particular acceptability rating, two or three contiguous rating sections were pooled. This was necessary since the χ^2 test cannot properly be applied when there are fewer than 5 occurrences in a particular category (Bailey, 1959); low numbers are likely to result in spurious significances.

For all the χ^2 tests significance was accepted at the 5% level.

RESULTS

Of the 200 Acceptability Tests (App. 2) which were distributed 135 were returned. These were returned by the social groups as follows:- 78 were returned by Middle Class subjects; 57 by Working Class subjects; 64 by males; 71 by females; 32 by under 20 age group (it should be noted that since the Test contained some swear words it was not distributed to the schools, so most in this age group were over school leaving age); 63 by the 20-29 age group; 19 by the 30-44 age group; 21 by the 45 and over age group. These results were processed as described in the Methods section to indicate what if any differences occurred in (a) the acceptability ratings for the occurrence of each item in the test, (b) the ratings for an individual item in different contexts, (c) the ratings for different words which occurred in the same context, and the ratings given to each item by

particular (d) social, (e) sex, and (f) age groups.

(a) Table 6 shows the frequency of occurrence of each rating section for each item by all the subjects, and gives the average acceptability rating for each occurrence of each item and for the item overall. It can be seen that the acceptability ratings for items ranged from 97% for Girlfriend to 17% for Fuck Off with a fairly even spread of values between these extremes though peaking around the 50% level (see Fig. I).

(b) Table 7 shows which words showed statistically significant different acceptability ratings in different contexts. Of the words analysed in this way, only Slut and Girl showed statistically significant differences such that for Slut the usage in

1. (from Q6.) I don't think she's had a wash since she fell out of the Ark. What a slut.

was found to be more acceptable ($p < .01$) than in

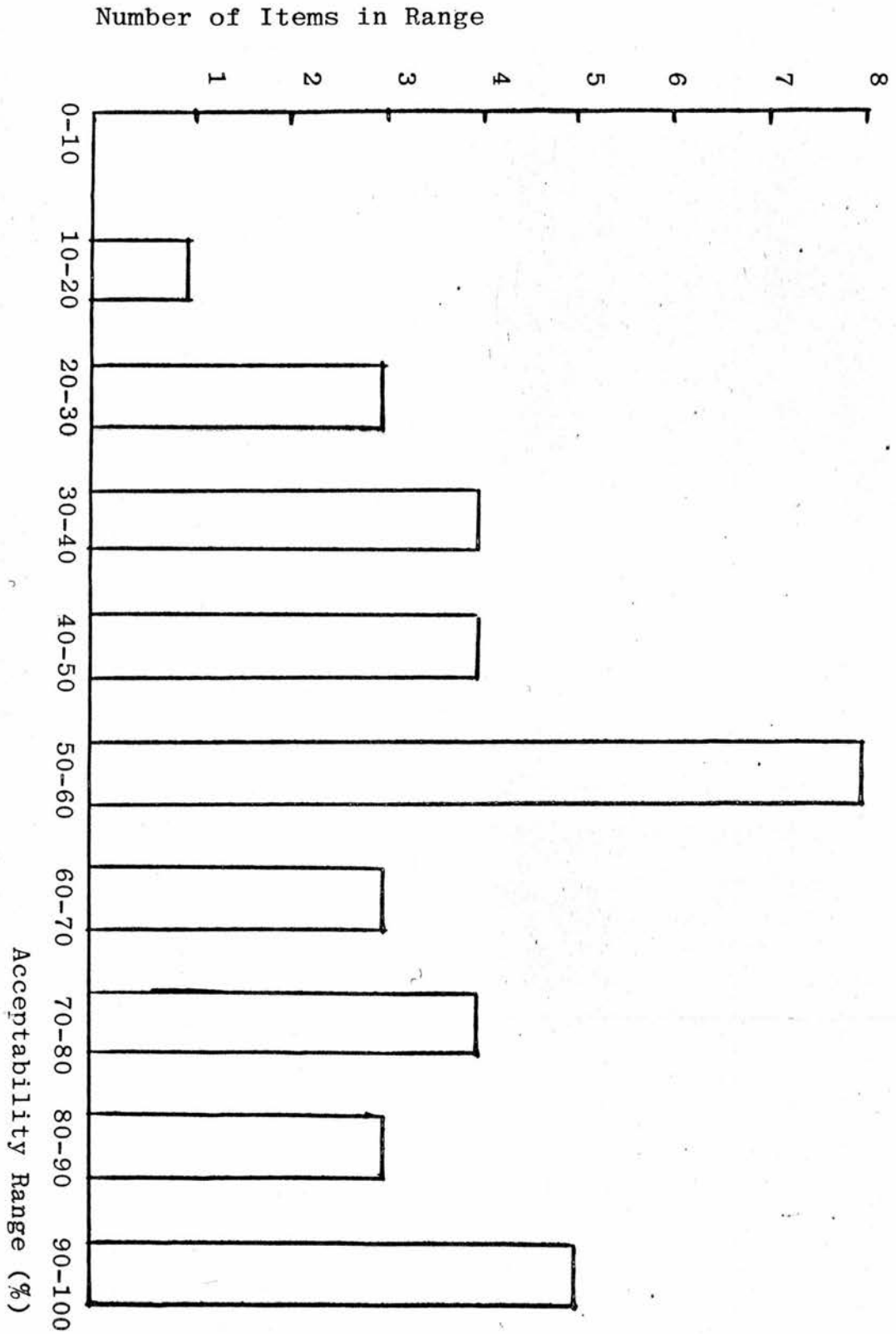
2. (from Q7.) With her false eye-lashes, fishnet tights and mini-skirt she looked a right slut.

while in

3. (from Q8.) That's the sixth man I've seen that slut with this week.

the usage was not rated significantly different from either

Fig. I


Number of Items in Range
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
0-10
10-20
20-30
30-40
40-50
50-60
60-70
70-80
80-90
90-100
Acceptability Range (%)

Q6 or Q7. (The overall average rating for these three usages was Q6 - 59%, Q7 - 51%, Q8 - 54%.) The statistically significant result for Girl is, however, apparently an artefact of the statistical test used, brought about by the very small numbers concerned, i.e. the apparent difference between the ratings for Q4 and Q8 is due to the analysis of the figures 13 versus 5 in section 3, which in this type of linguistic investigation are too small to be conclusive. No other significant differences were present for Girl. (The average ratings for Girl in Q3, Q4, and Q8 are as follows:- Q3 - 95%, Q4 - 95%, Q8 - 94%.)

In view of the fact that only these two single words, or as argued above, only one word out of 11 showed a statistically significant acceptability rating in different contexts, the results shown by the four phrases Fuck Off/It Up and Bugger Off/It Up are surprising. In each of these cases the form ...It Up is rated as statistically significantly more acceptable to a great extent ($p < .001$) than the form ...Off. It is debatable whether this should be taken as evidence to indicate that e.g. the phrase Fuck Off should be considered to be a wholly separate item from Fuck It Up. Certainly the extent of the difference of acceptability between the members of these pairs is more in keeping with the results shown in Table 8 than in Table 7. From the fact that the ... It Up phrase is found

to be more acceptable in both cases, it can also be deduced that it is the different features of these phrases, i.e. It Up and Off, which greatly contribute to their acceptability ratings and not only the main verbs. The difference of acceptability between these phrases may be due to the fact that one (the less acceptable ... off phrase) is imperative and therefore addresses an offensive item directly to the hearer, while the other (the more acceptable ... it up phrase) may have a subject in any person and normally takes an inanimate object, i.e. the offensive item may be linked either to the speaker, the hearer, or, as in the test, to a third and absent person.

(c) Table 8 shows the results of an analysis of the acceptability ratings of pairs of words which occur in a single context. This was confined to pairs of words which had been used repeatedly in the same contexts in the initial questionnaire discussed in Chapter 1. In contrast to the low number of statistically significant results apparent in Table 7, out of the six pairs of items analysed in this Table all six show a significant difference in terms of acceptability, all but one pair (Scrubber/Slag) to a great extent ($p < .001$). This pair is a little unusual in that generally where class differences have been observed in the usage of items (see Table 4A: Scrubber is used more by the Working Class subjects ($p < .05$), Slag

is used more by the Middle Class subjects ($p < .001$)) it is the item used more by the Middle Class which has the more acceptable rating, e.g. Girl (Middle Class $p < .001$) is rated more acceptable than Bird, Bugger Off (Middle Class $p < .05$) is rated more acceptable than Fuck Off. In the case of Scrubber and Slag, however, the unusual result may perhaps be due to the fact that Scrubber is the more widely familiar term. It was used more by the Working Class only to a small extent ($p < .05$) whereas Slag was used more by Middle Class to a much larger extent ($p < .001$). This suggests that Scrubber is the term more widely known and used although the two words had a comparable number of occurrences overall in the questionnaire (Scrubber 93; Slag 80; see Table 2.1.A) and occurred in a comparable number of questions (Scrubber 17; Slag 15; see Table 3). The pairs of words in the Table represent a wide range of acceptability; e.g. Bugger Off (average 33%)/Fuck Off (average 17%) to Bird (average 82%)/Girl (average 95%) (see Table 6.) It is interesting to note that in all pairs except Scrubber/Slag either the item which is rated as significantly more acceptable than the other is an item predominantly used by the Middle Class (Girl, Bugger It Up, Bugger Off see Table 4A and 4B) or the item rated as significantly less acceptable is an item used predominantly by the Working Class (Cow) or by Males (Pain in the Arse and Bird see Table 2.1.B).

(d) Of the 35 occurrences of items in the Test 13 showed a statistically significant difference in their acceptability ratings by the two social groups, of which 12 were more acceptable to the Working Class subjects (see Table 9). An item did not necessarily show such a difference in each of its occurrences: e.g. Doll was more acceptable to Working Class subjects in Q3 ($p < .05$) but it did not show a statistically significant difference in Q7. Others which behaved in this way are Bird, Bit of Stuff and Slut. Of the items which showed a statistically significant class difference in at least one context, only Shut Up, Belt Up, Bugger Off, Bitch (Q5 and Q8) and Slut (Q8) were straightforward cases in which more Working Class subjects than statistically expected rated the items high while fewer Working Class subjects than statistically expected rated the items low. One item, Bird (Q4), was straightforwardly more acceptable to Middle Class subjects. The remaining six instances (marked with an asterisk in Table 9) in which superficially it looks as though the items are more acceptable to Working Class subjects, actually represent a difference of spread in the acceptability values given by each class; viz. the Middle Class subjects gave a far wider range of values for each item, while the Working Class subjects in some instances showed a greater tendency to give a value in the 50-74 range and in other instances the 25-49 range. In the case of Slag (Q6 and Q7) these tendencies for the Middle Class to use a wide range of

values and the Working Class to use the 25-74 range, result in the item being, if anything, more acceptable to the Middle Class subjects. This is consistent with the observations concerning Slag in section (c) above.

(e) Of the 35 occurrences of items in the test, 22 showed a statistically significant difference in the acceptability ratings allocated to them by the two sexes (see Table 10). Of these only one, Doll (Q7), was more acceptable to females than to males ($p < .01$). The items which show a significant sex difference cover a wide range of acceptability: e.g. Fuck Off 17% (see Table 6) ($p < .01$), Ride Q8 22% ($p < .001$), Bit of Stuff Q3 67% ($p < .001$), Bird Q4 79% ($p < .001$), all more acceptable to males; but it is noteworthy that none of the most acceptable words show a sex difference, e.g. Girl overall average 95%, Girlfriend 97%, Pain in the Neck 89%. Doll Q7, which uniquely showed the preference by females, had an average rating of 70%.

(f) Table 11 shows the age-group links with acceptability ratings. Of the 35 occurrences of items in the test, only two showed an age link in the acceptability rating:- Ride (Q7) was more acceptable to the under 30 age-groups ($p < .05$) (although it must be remembered that it was relatively unacceptable to all - overall average 23% see Table 6), and Bitch (Q8) was more acceptable to the 45 and over age-group ($p < .05$).

DISCUSSION

The test could be criticised as a means of eliciting information about the acceptability of Slang items because of its unusual format, i.e. a scale rather than a series of labelled boxes (though see Leech (1974) p.21, for a broadly similar idea), on the grounds that the subjects might not know how to use this system. Leech, in his test, does away with linguistic labelling of boxes and instead uses a scale between opposites which is marked off into seven boxes numerically labelled 3 2 1 0 1 2 3. Each of the words which he asks the subjects to classify (for affective meaning) has more than one such scale of contrasting pairs, e.g. good - bad, hard - soft, etc.

e.g. Bagpipe:

	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	
good			X					bad
hard		X						soft
passive							X	active

In the acceptability test it was decided to adopt certain of these features both as a result of a small pilot survey, and on the advice of Mrs. M. Cormack, a lecturer in Psychology with some experience of this type of testing. In her experience, the use of boxes causes annoyance to many subjects who wish to make finer distinctions than

e.g. four boxes make possible. If one has a large number of boxes this problem is still not resolved, some subjects will still wish to distinguish between two items which they are forced to consign to one box, and linguistic labelling of such a large number of boxes can only be misleading and vague; e.g. Totally Unacceptable, Nearly Unacceptable, Not Quite So Unacceptable, Slightly Unacceptable, Neutral etc. For a test of the acceptability of items it might be thought that more than one scale per item might give useful information, e.g. an Impolite-Polite scale, a personal dislike of - a personal liking for the item scale, and a dislike of - a liking for those who use the item scale. However, it was felt that only one scale was appropriate in this case for a number of reasons, chiefly because the possible advantages gained by the extra information would be more than offset by the disadvantage of incomplete answers. It was found in the questionnaire in Chapter 1 that more people left blanks towards the end of the questionnaire and this may well be due to a lack of willingness to concentrate on the subject for such a length of time. Such diminishing returns from complex questionnaires are by no means uncommon. There were also difficulties in knowing which scales would be an appropriate part of such a test; if Impolite-Polite was included, should one also have Taboo-Non-Taboo to see whether the answers on the latter scale differed from

those on the former? Also, if one had the two scales Personal Dislike Of-Liking for the item and Dislike of-Liking for those who use the item, could these really be distinguished by the subjects, e.g. if one dislikes orient as opposed to orientate, is this a consequence of disliking the users of the former or vice versa? Furthermore, if one dislikes somebody who constantly uses e.g. Fuck, is this merely because one considers Fuck to be impolite and taboo? By using only a single acceptability scale per item one loses these potentially interesting distinctions, but one gains in receiving completed tests from the subjects - the only blanks left were when a subject had never heard of the item concerned (e.g. a few blanks for Ride). The use of a continuous scale with only four linguistically labelled markers, however, allowed the subject a much greater degree of freedom than is normally possible, though it must be noted that since each one percent is equal to 1 mm an average percentage acceptability is an approximate measure and cannot be considered significant to such a fine level, e.g. it would be nonsense to claim from the results of this test that Girlfriend 97% was more acceptable than Girl 95%, but it would be quite unjustifiable to claim that Bitch 59% and Cow 38% were of equal acceptability.

From the results, certain general points can be made about the acceptability of Slang items. As one would

intuitively expect Pain in the Neck rated higher on the acceptability scale than Pain in the Arse, but acceptability is not only related to the element of taboo in an item for one would then expect Fuck Off/It Up and Bugger Off/It Up to rate equally, and this is clearly not the case. Taboo evidently has a considerable but not total effect on the acceptability of an item: e.g. of all the words used in Q8, Ride was rated markedly lower than the others, perhaps because the taboo element is much more explicit in this item than in the others. Except where explicit, as in Ride, meaning, whether taboo or otherwise, does not seem to have a direct link with acceptability. Thus Shut Up was rated higher than Belt Up though they are very close in meaning; and Bitch was rated higher than Cow although it is hard to find any prima facie semantic reason for this difference (this matter will be further investigated in Chapter 3). An item may then be rated for acceptability for a reason other than its intrinsic meaning.

Some of the sex and social class differences in acceptability rating correlated with the differences in usage in Chapter 1, e.g. Fuck Off/It Up and Doll were rated as more acceptable by the Working Class; Fuck Off/It Up and Bit of Stuff were rated as more acceptable by males. This is perhaps accidental, however, since the results in this chapter indicate that in practically every

case where a sex or social class difference occurred in acceptability rating then it was males and Working Class subjects who rated the item most highly. Thus Bugger Off was rated higher by Working Class subjects although used more by Middle Class subjects, and Slut was rated higher by males (Q8) although used more by females. It must also be remembered that the apparent ratings of higher acceptability by Working Class subjects was often due to the use by Middle Class subjects of a wider range of acceptability values, which was caused by their greater use of the full length of the scale as opposed to the Working Class subjects' tendency to rate items at or near one of the four linguistically labelled points of the scale. This proviso notwithstanding, class differences in acceptability rating were considerably more common than class differences of usage - $^{13}/_{35}$ as opposed to $^{17}/_{103}$. This was also true for sex differences - $^{22}/_{35}$ as opposed to $^{30}/_{103}$. This more frequent occurrence of rating differences as opposed to usage differences was not borne out by age-linked differences, of which $^{2}/_{35}$ occurred in rating and $^{40}/_{103}$ occurred in usage.

SUMMARY

1. A test designed to elicit information about the acceptability of Slang items selected from those given as answers to the questionnaire discussed in Chapter 1 was distributed to a wide range of

subjects.

2. Only 1 item showed a difference in its acceptability value in different contexts.

3. All six pairs of different items which occured in the same contexts, and whose acceptability values were analysed, showed the members of the pairs to be differently valued.

4. 13 items out of 35 showed a difference in their acceptability ratings by the two social groups.

5. 22 items out of 35 showed a difference in their acceptability ratings by the two sexes.

6. 2 items out of 35 showed a difference in their acceptability ratings by the separate age-groups.

7. An item may be assigned an acceptability rating on grounds other than its intrinsic meaning, taboo or otherwise.

8. The acceptability of an item for a particular group of subjects is not necessarily related to its usage by those subjects.

9. Sex and social group acceptability rating differences were considerably more common than sex and social group usage differences.

10. Age-linked differences of usage were more common than age-linked differences of acceptability rating.

11. Males and Working Class subjects rated a large number of items more acceptable than did females and Middle Class subjects.

CHAPTER THREE

INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters were devoted to an investigation of sociolinguistic aspects of Slang usage. As stated in the Introduction to Chapter 1, the second aim of the questionnaire was to examine differences between Slang items in aspects of meaning and it is to this topic that the present Chapter is devoted.

In recent literature, probably the most widely used method of expressing differences of meaning between individual lexical items has been that of componential analysis. This system involves the attribution of semantic features (usually binary features) to particular items. The investigator relies on his own intuition to determine the number and choice of features for each item, and this element of subjectivity can result in an array of conflicting interpretations in a field of closely related items such as that investigated in this Chapter. (These problems are discussed later in more detail (see Chapter 4).) An alternative, empirically-based method for investigating differences of meaning between Slang items was therefore sought.

The questions on the questionnaire can be regarded as essentially independent variables, each of which shows a value for each Slang item. Since the use of an item in any question represents a specific semantic application of that item, each variable may be taken to measure an aspect of

meaning. Any two items can thus be seen to be more or less closely related in terms of these variables. A number of statistical procedures for investigating the relationships between any number of items scored in terms of any number of variables has evolved, largely over the last two decades, under the general name of cluster analysis (Everitt, 1974). Such procedures seem well suited to the problem in hand. The output from a cluster analysis procedure is best regarded as a hypothesis about the classification of, or inter-relationships between, items; in this case in terms of meaning.

In the investigation described in this chapter, thirty-eight Slang noun phrases for women taken from Table 2.1.A of Chapter 1 were submitted to a cluster analysis procedure. The items were selected on the basis of (a) their general popularity, (b) their use in more than two questions in the questionnaire. The first criterion ensured reasonably reliable scores on the relevant variables, and the second ensured that the items scored on several variables so that valid comparisons between any pair of items could be made. Thus pig (fewer than 25 instances overall) and tomboy (248 instances but all in A10) were omitted from this investigation. The 24 questions taken as variables were those on which two or more of the chosen items scored significantly (i.e. all the questions pertaining to noun phrases except A10, B3 and C12).

A further test, designed to show how good a substitute one word is for another, was also applied for each of the 24 questions mentioned above. The second and third most frequently occurring items in each question were calculated as percentages of the total number of answers to the question, thus if e.g. the second item had a high percentage then it was a reasonably popular substitute for the first in that context. In this sense, and in this sense only, the test provides some evidence for the contextual synonymity of items.

METHODS

1. The cluster analysis procedure used was a partitioning technique, carried out essentially as described by MacQueen (1967).

(a) The object of the procedure was to allocate each of the 38 items to one of N clusters. In this case, a possible definition of a cluster would be:- The number of all semantically acceptable sentences incorporating a particular Slang item which remains acceptable when that Slang item is replaced by another, is greater when the Slang items are members of the same cluster than when they are not. Thus let x, y be any two Slang members of a cluster and let z be any Slang item which is not a member of that cluster. Then

$$[S_x \cap S_y] > [S_x \cap S_z],\ [S_x \cap S_y] > [S_y \cap S_z]$$

where S_x, S_y, S_z, are the sets of all acceptable sentences

involving use of items x, y, and z respectively, and $[S_i \text{ n } S_j]$ is the number of elements in the set formed by the intersection of S_i and S_j. That is, an item included in a cluster is more closely related in meaning to every other item in that cluster than to any item outside it.

(b) Preparation of Data. A 38 x 24 matrix showing the scores of each item on every variable was established (Table 12), the scores being computed as follows:-

Value for i^{th} item, p^{th} variable was calculated as a percentage thus:-

$$\frac{\text{Number of instances of } i^{th} \text{ item in answer to } p^{th} \text{ question}}{\text{Total number of instances of } i^{th} \text{ item}} \times 100$$

The reduction of all values to percentages was carried out to prevent distortions of the "meaning differences" between items arising because of large differences in total numbers of instances (Everitt, 1974). Thus, tart (542 instances), lumber (25 instances) would give very different values in the variables irrespective of the similarities or differences in their usage. The variables were not weighted, there being no a priori reason to assume that any one was more important than another (Sokal and Sneath, 1963).

(c) Computing. A partitioning programme SLAN (Fortran) was used in the computer of Napier College.

The input consisted of:-

(i) The data, as prepared above.

(ii) An arbitrarily chosen number of clusters. This was varied between 5 and 12 inclusive in separate runs.

(iii) An instruction preventing the allocation of fewer than one item to any cluster.

The calculations performed were as follows:-

(i) Computation of Euclidean distances between pairs of items. The distance d_{ij} between the i^{th} and j^{th} items was taken as:-

$$d_{ij} = \sqrt{\sum_{p=1}^{24} (x_{ip} - x_{jp})^2}$$

i.e. The square root of the sum of the squares of the differences between the scores of the i^{th} and j^{th} items on all variables. Where x_{ip}, x_{jp} are the scores for the i^{th} and j^{th} items respectively on the p^{th} variable.

(ii) Grouping of the items into the selected number of clusters such that the distance between any pair of items within one cluster was less than the distance between any pair of items in different clusters.

(iii) Computation of the cluster centroids. The centroid is a hypothetical "average item" for the cluster, i.e. it consists of an average value for each of

the 24 variables.

(iv) Computation of the within-cluster variance. The within-cluster variance is the average of the squares of the Euclidean distances between each item in the cluster and the cluster centroid.

The computer output consisted of the centroid values and variances for all the clusters, and an allocation of each item to a given cluster.

(d) Establishment of the Number of Clusters. The pseudo - F Test suggested by Beale (1969) was used. For two runs postulating c_1 and c_2 clusters, where $c_2 = c_1 + 1$, the F statistic is given by:-

$$\frac{R_{c_1} - R_{c_2}}{R_{c_2}\left[\left(\frac{38 - c_1}{38 - c_2}\right)\left(\frac{c_2}{c_1}\right)^{1/12} - 1\right]}$$

Where R_{c_1} is the sum of all the within-cluster variances of the c_1 clusters; R_{c_2} is similarly defined. The power 1/12 in the denominator is the value given by Beale of 2/p, where p = the number of variables.

A significant F value implies that c_2 gives a more satisfactory partitioning of items than does c_1. The test is thus applied first to a comparison of the 6-cluster with

the 5-cluster run, then the 7-cluster with the 6-cluster, etc., with concommitantly decreasing F values. When a value of c_1 is reached at which the F value is no longer significant, c_1 is regarded as the best number of clusters for the data. Significance was accepted at the 5% level. The test is strictly applicable only when all the clusters are approximately spherical, i.e. for each cluster the within-cluster distance values are roughly equal. For elongated clusters. the R values (variances) are likely to be misleading.

2. Contextual Synonymity Test. This test provided an indication of synonymity of items on one variable, by showing to what extent the second most frequently occurring item was an alternative to the first. The figures in the percentage of remaining total column (see Table 15) were calculated as follows. The highest occurring item total was calculated as a percentage of the total number of answers to that question. Then the second highest occurring item total was calculated as a percentage of the total number of answers to that question minus the total of the highest occurring item and so on. (Only items with a frequency of occurrence of 20 or more were included in these calculations, as values below that figure could not be significant: 20 is approximately 7% of the total number of answers.)

i.e. Let the total number of answers to the question = A

Let $x_1, x_2, \ldots\ldots x_n$ be the frequencies with which items 1, 2, ...n occurred.

Then the percentage for the highest scoring item = $\frac{100x_1}{A}$

for the second highest scoring item = $\frac{100x_2}{(A - x_1)}$

for the third highest scoring item = $\frac{100x_3}{(A - (x_1 + x_2))}$

etc.

The resulting figures thus give a measure of the extent to which the second etc. most frequently occurring word can be considered to be a second choice for the first, i.e. it gives an indication of the probable results to the question if the subjects had been asked to put in a first, second and third choice of item (providing one makes allowances for the sociolinguistic criteria which affect the choice of an item for individual categories of subjects (see Chapter 1)). It is therefore a test of the synonymity of items in one particular aspect of meaning. It does not follow that items which appear to be free alternatives in one question will be so in other questions. The cluster analysis test shows where a general overlap, i.e. set of alternatives, occurs.

RESULTS

1. Cluster Analysis

As can be seen in Table 12, the computed data, after the application of the Beale Test, revealed that the optimum

number of clusters was ten. Initially the computer was programmed to allot no fewer than two items to any single cluster (cp. Methods section, 1c(iii)), and under these conditions the F-values generated by the Beale Test were as follows:-

F-value for 5/6 clusters = 3.55
" " 6/7 " = 2.77
" " 7/8 " = 3.45
" " 8/9 " = 2.08
" " 9/10 " = 5.47

Since the F-values should decline steadily with the increase of the number of clusters, it was realised at this juncture that the clusters were not sufficiently spherical (Everitt, 1974) for the Beale Test to be properly applied (cf. Methods section, 1d). To obviate this difficulty the computer programme was modified to permit the allocation of only one item to a cluster. The result of this was the immediate allocation of Moll to a single-item cluster; the F-values were then as follows:-

F-value for 5/6 clusters = 3.54
" " 6/7 " = 3.21
" " 7/8 " = 3.04
" " 8/9 " = 2.58
" " 9/10 " = 2.12
" " 10/11 " = 1.45
" " 11/12 " = 0.33

As can be seen from these F-values, the modified programme generated approximately spherical clusters, and since the required F-value for significance at the 5% level was 1.65, it was concluded that ten was the optimum number of clusters.

The allocation of items in the 11-cluster run differed from that in the 10-cluster run only by the sub-division of cluster 7 (see Table 12), such that (A) Doll, Bitch, Cow and Boot were grouped together as were (B) Tart, Ride, Whore and Floosy. Increase of the number of clusters to 12 further sub-divided A above as (A_1) Doll and (A_2) Bitch, Cow and Boot. These results suggest that the allocation of items to the 10 clusters shown in Table 12 was remarkably stable.

Further evidence in support of this claim was provided by two separate tests. The first involved the exclusion of every alternate item from Table 12, but still included all the variables. The clusters produced by this test in a 10-cluster run were completely consistent with those shown in Table 12. The second test involved all the items from Table 12 but excluded every alternate variable. Again the results from a 10-cluster run were completely consistent with those shown in Table 12. These tests indicate that a high degree of stability is achieved in a 10-cluster structure of the data. The second of these tests strongly suggests that the initial choice of question (= variable) in the questionnaire did not artifically influence the number and composition of the clusters. That is, if a different questionnaire

had been produced to investigate the same range of Slang items, cluster analysis of the resulting data would have revealed a structure comparable to that in Table 12.

It is feasible that cluster analysis procedures of this type could be used to divide any set of linguistic data into semantically viable groups. This possibility is explored more fully in the Discussion Section of this Chapter.

Table 13 shows the scores on each variable for the centroid of each cluster, i.e. the hypothetical 'average item' for each cluster (cf. Methods section 1c).

Table 14 gives the Euclidean distances between all the data items (cf. Methods section 1c).

2. Single-Context Synonymity Test

The results of the calculations described in the Methods Section above are set out in Table 15. Of the 31 contexts of the questionnaire 15 produced at least 1 synonymous pair of items, excluding all items with a score of less than 20% in the "percentage of remaining total" column. 20% was chosen as a completely arbitrary cut-off point, in order to avoid claiming that two items were single-context synonyms when one of the pair occurred comparatively infrequently (in this case less than one fifth of the possible occasions) as an alternative to the other. A required frequency of one in five possible occurrences after the first etc. choice

had been discounted seemed to be a sufficiently rigorous criteron bearing in mind that the total number of possible items in any given question (i.e. items which actually occurred in answer on the questionnaire) ranged from 29 to 79 (see Tables 1A1-1C12). Five of these 15 contexts had more than one synonymous pair; the total number of synonymous pairs was 25 (see Table 15).

In order further to examine the semantic validity of the cluster analysis results, the frequency with which the single-context synonymous pairs were members of the same cluster was calculated, and found to be 11. If one assumes that all the clusters are as large as the largest cluster, i.e. contain eight items, then the chance probability of 11 out of the 25 pairs being pairs of members of the same cluster is given by the binomial distribution (Bailey, 1959):-

$$\frac{n!\ p^a q^{(n-a)}}{a!\ (n-a)!}$$

where n = the total number of pairs = 25

a = the number of pairs whose members belong to the same cluster = 11

p = the probability that both items of a pair belong to the same cluster = 0.21

q = 1 - p = 0.79

The probability in this case is .004. However, if one calculates on the basis of 10 equally sized clusters of

3.8 members (in this case, p = 0.1, q = 0.9), then the probability of 11 pairs being pairs having members in the same cluster = .00001.

Both of these calculations give approximations to the exact probability, which would be very cumbersome to calculate. However, since the first value represents the highest possible probability of the correspondence being due to chance, while the second value is liable to be spuriously low (although six clusters have fewer than 3.8 members, most of the pairs in question were members of the other four clusters), the exact probability will lie between these two values, and is therefore evidently very small.

Clearly these results of the Single-Context Synonymity Test provide independent evidence that the individual clusters shown in Table 12 contain members which are semantically linked.

An examination of the remaining 14 pairs gives some additional information about the relationship between the Single-Context Synonymity Test results and the results of the Cluster Analysis technique. Three of the 14 pairs are Girl/Bit of Stuff and Girl/Bit, Piece of .. in A7, and Bird /Girlfriend in A11. It might be expected that these pairs should have members belonging to the same cluster. However, since each pair occurs only once in Table 15, (for Bit/ Piece of and Girlfriend, these are their sole occurrences in the Table, while Bit of Stuff occurs only on one other

occasion) it is not surprising that these items are not in the same cluster. Nine of the remaining pairs seem at first sight inconsistent with the structure shown in Table 12, especially in the cases of Old Bag/Cluster 4 members (A1, A8, C4) which apparently provide evidence for the inclusion of Old Bag in Cluster 4. A possible explanation for this apparent inconsistency is that single-context synonymity can be unidirectional. Thus, Old Woman, Old Dear and Old Wifie are suitable alternatives for Old Bag but Old Bag is not generally a suitable alternative for any or all of these three items. That is, to use Lyons's (1968 p.453-4) terminology, Old Bag is hyponymous to Old Woman, Old Dear and Old Wifie. A similar argument may be advanced in the case of the pair Bird/Girl in A3, A7 and C8: while Girl can generally be substituted for Bird, the converse is not true. It is possible that the last two pairs Nag/Cow and Nag/Bitch may also be unidirectional synonyms, with Cow and Bitch being possible substitutes for Nag but not necessarily vice versa. However since both of these pairs occur only in A6 they could be discounted as insufficiently frequent to require explanation of their crossing cluster boundaries (see discussion of the first three pairs above).

It follows from these observations that cluster membership cannot reliably be predicted from Single-context Synonymity. Nor indeed can cluster membership alone be used to predict synonymity in a specific context. Nevertheless, the degree of correspondence between the results of the two approaches is striking.

DISCUSSION

A. Discussion of Cluster Analysis Methods

1. Choice of Procedure

Selection from the plethora of cluster analysis procedures is inevitably somewhat arbitrary. The range of available methods is fully discussed by Sokal and Sneath (1963), Fleiss and Zubin (1969), and Everitt (1974). A summary of the different procedures and their applicability to linguistic analysis is given below.

(a) Hierarchical Procedures

All procedures in this category generate dendrograms, i.e. tree diagrams, and have proved helpful in numerical taxonomy (Sneath, 1957; Sokal and Sneath, 1963). Two subcategories can be distinguished: agglomerative methods, which fuse individual items stage by stage until a single cluster of all the items is evolved; and divisive methods, which initially treat all the items as a single cluster, and split this stage by stage into progressively smaller clusters, ultimately generating a set of clusters each of which includes only one item. Divisive techniques may be based on one (monothetic) or many (polythetic) variables. Clearly, for the data involved in this Chapter, a polythetic technique would be required if a divisive method were selected; but such methods cannot properly be applied if for any item the

scores on a majority of variables is zero (MacNaughton-Smith et al, 1964). Therefore, divisive procedures had to be discounted (cf. Table 12: there is a preponderance of zero scores), and it is likely that they would be unsuitable for most linguistic data on these grounds. Of the available agglomerative procedures, the "nearest neighbour" or "single link" method seems to be the oldest established, the most thoroughly analysed and the one least likely to cause distortion of the data. Jardine and Sibson (1968) present strong evidence to show that this is mathematically the most satisfactory. Two other possible agglomerative procedures are "centroid analysis" and the "group average" method (Sokal and Michenener, 1958). However, centroid analysis suffers from the disadvantage that it is liable to distort the data if the sizes of any two groups to be fused at any stage in the procedure are markedly dissimilar (Sokal and Michenener, 1958), while the "group average" method is also liable to distort the data if any of the clusters at any stage in the agglomeration are not roughly spherical (Lance and Williams, 1967). These disadvantages make it unlikely that either of these techniques will prove suitable for linguistic analysis. (The modification proposed by Lance and Williams (1967) to the second technique unfortanately involves parameters which cannot be calculated for linguistic data of the type discussed in this chapter.)

If a hierarchical procedure was chosen for linguistic analysis, therefore, the most obvious choice would be the "nearest-neighbour" method. This method could not be used for the data in this Chapter, however, because it presupposes that the data contains sufficient information to distinguish each item from every other on a reliable mathematical basis, which is intuitively untenable as can be seen by the figures given (for individual items) in Tables 1A1-1C12. In principle, at least, it is possible that some bodies of linguistic data might have sufficiently exact values for their variables to fulfil this criterion. See e.g. Sankoff (1973) and Scotton (1976).

(b) Density Search Procedures

These are based on the following notion. Suppose the data items are regarded as points in a p-dimensional space, where p = the number of variables, then in some regions of the space there will be a high density of points. These high density regions correspond to the natural clusters. The method involves determination of the "centre of gravity" (the cluster centroid) of each high density region followed by an essentially arbitrary delimitation of the surrounding space. Points within this limit are regarded as members of the cluster. This kind of approach breaks down if the contrasts between high and low density regions are not very distinct, since under these circumstances stable

assignments of items to clusters cannot be achieved (Everitt, 1974). This difficulty virtually rules out the possibility of utilising this procedure in linguistic analysis.

(c) Partitioning Procedure

The objective here is to segregate the data items into an arbitrarily chosen number (C_n) of relatively homogeneous clusters. The method involves the computation of either similarities or differences between each item and every other item. The items are then arranged into C_n groups so that the items within a group are either the most similar or the least different. Difficulties arise with many bodies of data if similarity measurements are chosen. If zero scores occur on several variables most similarity coefficients are distorted (MacNaughton-Smith et al, 1964). Moreover, there is the possibility that such coefficients may indicate a spuriously close relationship in e.g. the following case:-

	p_1	p_2	p_3	p_4	p_5	p_6
x_1	1	2	3	15	20	25
x_2	10	20	30	3	4	5

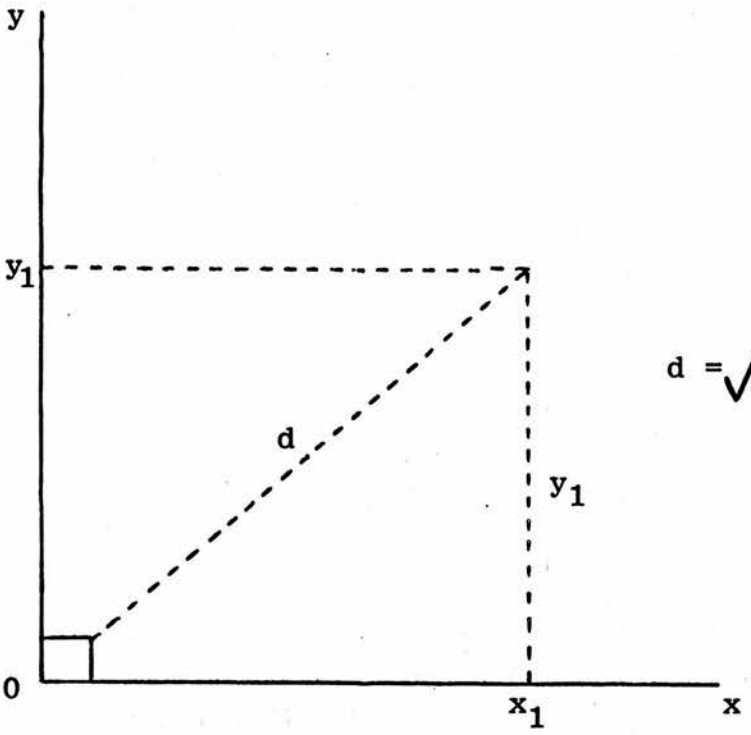
In data such as those given in Table 12 such scores on the variables for x_1 and x_2 would indicate that they were very dissimilar and should intuitively belong to different clusters. Using similarity coefficients, however, these items would show a very strong correlation, whereas using the Euclidean

distance method the items are shown to be very dissimilar ($d(x_1, x_2) = 44$; this is equivalent to a score of 88 over 24 variables; cf. Table 14). Euclidean distances (see Methods Section above) are the simplest and by far the commonest measure of distance. They can be problematical, however, if there is any interdependence of variables (Sokal and Sneath, 1963), since the axes (representing variables) are no longer orthogonal (see Fig. II). When linguistic data are involved, it is not clear how the angle α (i.e. the degree of interdependence between the two variables represented in the diagrams, is to be calculated with accuracy. (This problem is considered in section A5 below.) Given an acceptable measurement of distance, partitioning procedures seem to be more generally suitable for the analysis of linguistic data than any of the techniques discussed above.

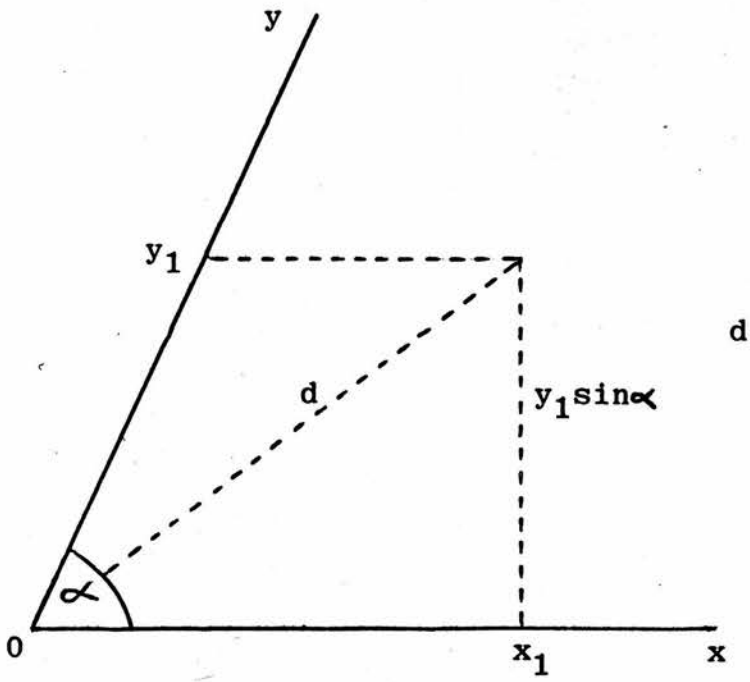
(d) Clumping Procedures

These resemble partitioning techniques but allow overlap between clusters, i.e. an item may be assigned to more than one cluster simultaneously. While this approach seems an attractive one to use in language studies - indeed, Needham (1967) and Everitt (1974) suggest that it might be best applied in linguistic studies because any word can have several meanings - it has severe drawbacks. First, it requires the computation of similarities rather than differences between items (see A1 (c) above). Second, there is

Fig. II



$$d = \sqrt{x_1^2 + y_1^2}$$



$$d = \sqrt{x_1^2 + y_1^2 \sin^2\alpha}$$

considerable controversy about the best mathematical approach to computation of the required parameters (Parker-Rhodes and Jackson, 1969). Moreover, it is not clear which approach if any will prove to be most suitable for linguistic data. Third, clumping techniques primarily divide the data into items within and items outwith a single cluster. When the data contain many natural clusters, as appears to be the case in the present Chapter, a repeated application of the technique is obviously necessary, and it is by no means evident that this would be statistically unproblematical. Theoretically, an item might then be assigned to a cluster other than that whose centroid value is closest to that item.

2. Validity of the Beale Test

In section 1 above a case was made in favour of the use of a partitioning procedure based on difference measurements for the cluster analysis of linguistic data of the type under consideration. If this case is accepted it is necessary to apply in addition some objective criterion for determining the optimum number of clusters in the data since a partitioning technique initially involves an arbitrary selection of the number of clusters (cp. density search techniques, section A1 (b)). Such a criterion must depend on the reduction of the total variance in all of the clusters as the number of clusters is increased. In general, the significance of the difference between two variances is determined using an F-test

(Bailey, 1959). Everitt (1974) describes a selection of modified F-tests designed to meet the requirements stated above, and draws particular attention to the formula derived by Beale (1969). The procedures required for the Beale Test are described in the Methods section above, while the effect upon the F-values of non-spherical clusters is exemplified in the Results section above. The experience of the analysis of the data in this Chapter indicates that the Beale Test, if used with caution, should be both a useful and a reliable objective measure of the optimum number of clusters in a body of linguistic data.

3. Discontinuities in Data

Sokal and Sneath (1963) point out the inapplicability of both similarity and difference measurements in data containing variables on which some of the items cannot score. Consider the following examples:-

I.

	Body Temperature	Length of Trunk	Diameter of Nest
Mice	39	0	4
Elephants	36	75	0

as opposed to:-

II	Length of Tail	+ Pink Eyes	Number of Young
Mice	3	5	0
Elephants	50	0	17

In both examples it appears that one is dealing with a three-dimensional space in which to measure the difference or similarity between the population of mice and the population of elephants. However, in example I, two of the variables cannot be applied to both items, for it is not the case that a mouse has a zero inch long trunk, but rather that it has no trunk at all. Similarly, the statement derived from I:-

1. *The average diameter of the elephants' nests was zero inches.

is nonsense. On the other hand, the statement derived from II:-

2. None of the sample of mice examined had any young.

is a perfectly sensible and possible statement. Clearly, therefore, one is not comparing items in I in a three-dimensional space, but in a one-dimensional space (i.e. the body of data is discontinuous) while the items in II are genuinely comparable in all three dimensions.

In the analysis of linguistic data the difficulty

lies in determining whether a zero score on a variable is a genuine zero rating or whether it indicates the complete inapplicability of the variable to the item. The data considered in this Chapter are all Slang items for women (that is they are all comparatively closely related in meaning), and this makes it intuitively fairly likely that the zero values shown in Table 12 fall into the same category as those in example II, rather than representing actual discontinuities. Some evidence to support this view is that the sentences formed when members of different clusters are substituted for each other are still more meaningful than e.g. the sentence 1., above. E.g.

Mess C_1
Flirt C_2
Dame C_3
Lady C_4
Pain C_5

3. Was that the _____ he picked up at the dance last Friday?

Nag C_6
Bitch C_7
Girlfriend C_8
Lass C_9
Moll C_{10}

(From each cluster the lowest scoring item for A3 has been

selected, and for the items from C_1, C_2, C_4, C_5, C_6, C_8 and C_{10} the score for A3 was zero (see Table 12)). This example contrasts markedly with

1. *The average diameter of the elephants' nests was zero inches.

and with

4. *Was that the aspidistra he picked up at the dance last Friday?

(where picked up must be understood as it is in 3.)

It is therefore evident that great care must be taken to ensure that the data input is continuous. For this reason it would have been impossible to partition the verb phrases (given in answer to A12-A15 inclusive) into clusters in the same computer run as that used to generate Table 12, and indeed if the verb phrase data were to be prepared for cluster analysis, they might prove to contain discontinuities over the four variables used.

For example:-

5. (from A12). Jim said I'd ruined it but he mucked it up first.
6. (from A12). *Jim said I'd ruined it but he belted it up first.
7. (from A15). Dad can't stand anyone talking while

the football's on. He tells you to belt up if you even say hello.

8. (from A15). *He tells you to muck it up if you even say hello.

6. and 8. clearly make less sense than any of the alternative forms given for 3. above.

4. Choice of Variables

Since the number of sentences in which any item can be used is, in principle, infinite, any choice of variables is necessarily an arbitrary selection from an infinite range. This is a common problem in cluster analysis: choice of variables is generally arbitrary and may often presuppose an intuitive classification. Boyce (1964) who pioneered the application of hierarchical clustering techniques to the classification of apes and hominids encountered difficulties stemming from his choice of variables. Boyce's exercise in physical anthropology involved classification solely on the basis of skull measurements, and resulted in such anomalies as a closer relationship between juvenile gorillas and juvenile chimpanzees than between juvenile gorillas and adult gorillas.

It is possible that the arbitrary selection of variables on the basis of the questionnaire returns could

give rise to similar anomalies. However, it seems clear that extrapolation from skull measurements to whole organism structure and thence to evolutionary relationships (which is implicit in Boyce's work) is a more drastic step than extrapolation from the observed applicabilities of groups of items in a given range of sentences to their applicabilities in similar but different contexts. Moreover, in contrast to the data analysed by Boyce, the behaviour of the data considered in this Chapter with respect to partitioning did not alter on deletion of half of the variables. In order to avoid such difficulties as those encountered by Boyce, the most helpful device appears to be the selection of the largest number and widest range of variables possible, subject to the restriction of data discontinuities considered above.

5. Independence of Variables

As mentioned in section A1 (c) above, the interdependence of variables can lead to inaccuracies in the calculation of Euclidean distances, and in data such as those considered here the degree of interdependence is rather cumbersome to calculate mathematically. The methods available to make such calculations are referred to collectively as "principal components analysis", Three major arguments can be advanced in favour of performing a principal components analysis on the data prior to

cluster analysis. First, by eliminating interdepence between variables it would validate the use of Euclidean distance as a precise difference measure. Second, if all members of a group of variables in the raw data show a strong correlation, then the effect on partitioning of the raw data is that of weighting the variables in this group. A principal components analysis would remove such arbitrary weighting. Third, this kind of procedure clarifies the system in that it gives some indication of the minimum number of factors necessary to differentiate between all the items. (That is, some principal components analyses do for choice of number of variables what the Beale Test does for choice of number of clusters.) However, great care must be taken to select for the data the correct principal components analysis procedure from the many available (Sokal and Sneath, 1963). Also, while failure to apply such a procedure, in view of the first two arguments given above, could result in distortion of the clusters, it does not necessarily do so. This has been proved for the present data by the tests for the stability of the partitioning (see Results section 1 above). The third argument set forward in favour of principal components analysis is subject to serious reservations. The concept that one can mathematically calculate the minimum required number of dimensions of meaning to totally distinguish individual items is at best controversial. Osgood and his

collaborators (Osgood et al, 1967) attempted to calculate this minimum number of dimensions, but such a method has never been fully accepted. Moreover, if principal components analysis is utilised for this purpose in other fields, the results are not indisputable: e.g. both Eysenck (1952) and Cattell (1947) make use of this technique but they nevertheless disagree over the required minimum of dimensions by which personality can be measured.

In addition, the following arguments could be advanced against the use of principal components analysis. First, it is expensive both in computer and in operator time. Second, the fusing of two or more variables necessarily leads to loss of information and therefore to the blurring of distinctions. Third, the variables generated by principal components analysis are no longer the scores on individual questions but combinations of these scores, and it is therefore not possible to say exactly what they measure.

In conclusion then, it seems better, where linguistic data are concerned, to use a cluster analysis procedure without first applying principal components analysis, provided that one can check the uncorruptibility of the results by a method such as that described in the Results section 1. If this method indicates that distortion has occurred, however, it might be necessary to apply a principal components analysis procedure.

DISCUSSION

B. Discussion of Linguistic Applicability

This part of the Discussion Section briefly reviews some uses of computers and statistical methods in the field of linguistics, and gives a comparison of some of these with the methods used in this Chapter. It then examines the possible applicability of cluster analysis procedures to further lexical studies. Finally it considers the linguistic value of the results summarised in Table 12.

1. Review of use of computers and statistical methods

The advantage of employing statistical methods can be appreciated from an instance given by Williams (1970), who quotes Professor de Morgan (in 1851) as being prepared to accept a difference in average word length which Williams calculated to be less than 2% as sufficient evidence to indicate a difference of authorship. Differences of this size could never produce significant results if either a Chi-squared test or analysis of variance was applied. However, as Oswalt (1973) points out, it is important when employing such statistical tests to ensure that the data are completely amenable to them; for example, when investigating the relationship between two languages by measuring the significance of the overlap between their vocabularies, one should beware of the effect on Chi-squared values of

variations in individual word frequencies, and of the occurrence of a single root in a number of lexical items. As can be seen in the preceding Discussion section, great consideration has to be given to the possible effects on the results of the choice of data and method.

Computer programmes have been applied to a wide variety of linguistic analyses. Some of these applications involve the compilation of entirely new computer programmes, and sometimes of entirely new programming languages. For example, Raphael (1968) and Winograd (1972) have attempted to generate systems which allow a dialogue to take place in natural language between the machine and its operator. Both these experimenters hope that in evolving such systems greater insight will be gained into what they believe is the underlying logical structure of the natural language used. It is worth emphasising that although natural language may be the initial and final form of such dialogue, these systems involve the use of programmes which "translate" the natural language into a logical computer language. Since there is no evidence that the output of machine "translation" is entirely equivalent to the input such "translation" may in fact impose rather than reveal a logical structure.

Quillian (1968) is also interested in the responses which a computer makes in natural language, but his concern

is with the semantic ability of the machine rather than with its syntactic competence. His aim is to establish a model which will reflect with reasonable accuracy the organisation of the semantic memory store in humans. His system involves programming the computer to distinguish between homographs. Each main sense of the homographs is stored separately, and the computer will produce a "sentence" illustrating the meaning of each. However, these "sentences" are confined to rather vague definitions of the item involved. e.g.

Input = Compare Plant, live
Output = Plant is a live structure

Input = Compare Plant, industry
Output = Plant is apparatus which person use for process in industry

Wilks (1972) has established a computer technique for dissecting passages of natural language into grammatical and semantic components. An attempt is then made to analyse the meaning of each component in terms of such semantic features as: + life, + must, + when, + world and + count. This kind of procedure could in principle be extended to analysis of the distinctions between lexical items such as the items occurring in Table 12. However, it places considerable dependence on the intuitions of the

operator, for only he can decide which selection of features should be included in the programme, and indeed which should be ascribed to each item. Whereas to distinguish between such items as table and carpet, or camel and horse would be comparatively unproblematical and generally uncontroversial, the distinction of e.g. cow from tart (in their Slang senses) would be extremely difficult, for, as indicated in Chapter 1, the features attached to cow would vary according to the age of the operator. Nor is it easy to decide on the most appropriate choice of semantic features for any items of similar meanings (see Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of these problems).

Bailey (1973) and Venezky (1973) discuss the role of the computer in lexicographic studies. In essence these works are devoted to pointing out the advantages to be gained by using one central computer to store all the raw data required for lexicographers throughout the English-speaking world. Bailey's idea is that this should be used purely as a store from which lexicographers could retrieve lexical items and citations as required. Venezky thinks computers could be employed to perform more of the collation work required in lexicography. However, apparently unaware of Quillian's earlier work, he states: "for homograph separation and sense type selection it is clear that no fully automatic system will be devised in the near future" for the reason that the body of information required

would be too enormous to be practical.

Another field, bordering on linguistics and lexicography, in which computers have been employed, is that of information retrieval. The use of cluster analysis procedure in this area is illustrated by Needham's work (1967). According to Needham, "two words are similar if they tend to appear together in the key word lists of documents, that is, if they tend to be used for describing the same document" (cf. Leech's 1974, collocative meaning). However, in a file containing e.g. records of Prime Ministers' Conferences this assertion would lead one to presume that Prime Ministers' and Conference are similar in meaning. Needham does not explain how this kind of difficulty should be circumvented. Procedures of this kind are clearly inapplicable to the sort of linguistic analysis which the investigator of Slang wishes to carry out.

2. Applicability of Cluster Analysis Procedures to Lexical Studies

The partitioning of the Slang items discussed in this Chapter generated extremely stable clusters. The linguistic value and semantic significance of these results are discussed in Section 3 below. However, in this Section the possibility of utilizing cluster analysis procedures in further lexical studies is investigated.

Venezky (1973), in the passage quoted above, expresses the opinion that the large scale application of this, or any other semantic grouping computer technique in lexicography, is impractical because of the magnitude of the body of data required. While accepting this assessment with regard to the compilation of historical or complete language dictionaries, I believe that some such method might be of use in the compilation of partial dictionaries of contemporary language, for which no universally acceptable body of data has previously existed. For example, if a dictionary of current Slang items or perhaps sailors' Jargon and Shop was being compiled, then it might be useful to collect the initial data by questionnaires, or by tape recording. Provided that all the subjects who supplied the initial information supplied it in identical contexts, then the data acquired would not be discontinous, and if the other conditions specified in Discussion Section A above were fulfilled, then a cluster analysis procedure could be applied. This method of collecting and processing the data would have the advantage that the final composition of the dictionary would not be restricted to those items which were familiar to the compiler, either through his own use or through the reading of relevant texts. Therefore, although cluster analysis procedures may not be useful in most spheres of lexicography, they could be of considerable value in the compilation of

restricted-range dictionaries. Moreover, the results of this Chapter clearly indicate that a well known and widely used computer language such as FORTRAN is adequate for work of this kind, and highly specialised languages such as COMIT (Yngve, 1973), or SIR (Raphael, 1968) are unnecessary, whatever their value in other linguistic spheres. The possibility of employing a widely used language such as FORTRAN would minimise the costs of computing in such research.

The usefulness of an objective method of analysis in this kind of work is, subject to these reservations, clear. However, the evidence of the chapter indicates that cluster analysis procedures can be of value in a quite different area. If an investigator has a body of data relating to the use of closely linked lexical items, it is difficult for him to identify fine semantic distinctions and relations between these items on a reliable and objective basis. (See Chapter 3, Introduction). Dependence upon one's intuition can lead to misleading or erroneous results. An illustration of this unreliability of intuition is provided by Fig. III, which shows the intuitively postulated clustering of the data, which after objective processing generated Table 12. Cluster analysis, while it does not result in the definition of any item, does provide a possible way of resolving the investigator's difficulty: that is, it can be used to measure the

similarities and differences between closely related lexical items without specifying exactly what these similarities and differences are. It cannot therefore be used as a substitute for other types of semantic analysis (such as componential analysis), but it could make a valuable addition to existing methodology (see Chapter 4).

Fig. III

Intuitively Postulated Clusters	Objectively Generated Clusters
1. Tramp	1. Tramp
Mess	Mess
Trollop	Trollop
Slut	Slut
Scrubber	Scrubber
Slag	Slag
2. Pro	2. Pro
Flirt	Flirt
Tart	
Whore	7. Tart
Ride	Whore
Floosy	Ride
	Floosy
3. Doll	Doll
Dame	Bitch

Fig. III (contd)

Intuitively Postulated Clusters	Objectively Generated Clusters
Moll	Cow
Bird	Boot
Girl	
Girlfriend	3. Dame
Chick	Bird
Female	Chick
Bit of Stuff	Bit of Stuff
Bit/Piece ...	Bit/Piece ...
Lass	Lumber
Lumber	
4. Woman	9. Girl
(Old) Wifie	Female
Wife	Lass
(Old) Lady	4. Woman
Old Dear	(Old) Wifie
	(Old) Lady
	Old Dear
5. Bag	6. Bag
Bitch	Nag
Nag	Moan
Moan	
Pain	5. Pain
Pain in the Arse/Neck	Pain in the Neck/Arse

Fig. III (contd)

Intuitively Postulated Clusters	Objectively Generated Clusters
6. Cow	8. Girlfriend
Boot	Wife
	10. Moll

Cluster analysis procedures might also be relevant to e.g. Lehrer's (1969) discussion of lexical fields. A lexical field is taken to be a subset of the vocabulary of a language, the elements of which (a) bear to one another a relationship, paradigmatic or syntagmatic, which is not found between other lexical items in the language, (b) denote concepts which are part of the same conceptual field. Whether (a) and (b) are ultimately distinguisable is a moot philosophical point, detailed consideration of which would not be relevant to this thesis. The strongest and most readily formalisable version of field theory, which holds that the total vocabulary of a language is partitioned without residue into a set of completely non-intersecting subsets (lexical fields), as Lyons (1977, p.268) points out, is open to damaging criticism. This does not, of course, indicate that the notion of a 'lexical field' e.g. the field of Slang terms for women, is incoherent; though it does seem to exclude the possibility of deciding

formally which lexical items are, and which cannot be elements of this field. Lehrer (1969) seems to have decided on the items to be included in the field of cooking terms by means of intuition, but perhaps cluster analysis could be used here. If care is taken that the data are suitable for the technique applied, then cluster analysis procedures could be used not only to distinguish between separate lexical fields but also to separate groupings within a single field, such that the final clusters can help one to determine between hyponyms and their superordinates. (Lehrer points out that if one member of a lexical field is borrowed into a different field then there is an increased possibility that other members of the first field will also be borrowed into the second. This seems to be true not only for her example of the field of cooking terms and the field of emotion, but also for the field of sweet food and the field of Slang terms for women e.g. tart, jaffa, cream bun, tomato, pudding, dumpling, bottled pop, crumpet, pancake, muffin, smart cookie, honey, (see Table 2.1.A). This does not of course mean that 'sweetness' is the essence of all these terms.)

3. Linguistic Value of the Cluster Analysis Results

The uses which have been suggested for cluster analysis techniques in Section 2 above are subject to the proviso that the clusters such as those produced in Table 12 have

some linguistic value. There is no a priori reason to suppose that the mathematical measurements used must generate linguistically valid results. In this Section the linguistic significance of the results in Table 12 is examined.

In order to test the acceptability of the results, sentences including items from the same and from different clusters will be produced, and tested against intuition. While intuition is an unreliable method to use to generate results (see above, Fig. III), there is no alternative to it as a way of testing them. Thus if mathematical measurements and computer techniques were to generate a sentence:

9. *Is that the slipper that laid the golden goose?

intuition would infallibly condemn it as semantically unacceptable. The problem of relying on computer results without double-checking them is that one may have unwittingly imposed rather than revealed a structure in the data (see comment above on Raphael (1968) and Winograd (1972)). As was demonstrated in Discussion Section A3, none of the sentences produced is likely to be so glaringly defective as sentence 9. above, since all the items in their Slang senses in Table 12 share the semantic features: '+ human', '+ adult', '+ female'. However, although the sentences produced are unlikely to be totally without interpretable significance (using significance in the sense discussed by

Ziff (1960)), the level of their semantic acceptability should vary according to the cluster of which the item is a member. Only one item from each cluster has been chosen for each sentence for reasons of economy except from the cluster which is chiefly under examination, from which the highest and lowest scoring items for the particular variable or variables have been selected. In every other case the item selected is the highest scorer in the cluster.

= perfectly semantically acceptable
? = partially semantically acceptable
+ = semantically acceptable with reservations
* = not semantically acceptable

The numbers following the items indicate to which cluster the items belong.

10. Gladys hasn't had a wash since she fell out of the ark - what a

Variable C11

tramp 1
trollop
* flirt 2
* dame 3
+ woman 4
* pain 5
+ old bag 6
? boot 7
* girlfriend 8
+ girl 9
* moll 10

she is.

+ Woman/girl only if Gladys is also quite a character - What a woman!

+ Old bag only if qualified by an adjective - mucky old bag.

11. She changes her men friends each night after listening to the Financial Report. She really is a

Variables B4, C2

+ flirt 2
pro
* dame 3
* woman 4
+ pain 5
* old bag 6
tart 7
* girlfriend 8
* girl 9
* moll 10
? slag 1

+ Flirt only acceptable to older speakers/hearers

+ Pain only if the speaker has e.g. been jilted by her but bears her no particular ill will.

12. Is that the + Lumber$_3$ he's going around with? She seems alright.

Vs. A3,A4

Bird
Woman 4
* pain 5
* old bag 6

12. contd.

* tart 7
* girlfriend 8
girl 9
\+ moll 10
* slag 1
* pro 2

\+ Lumber not widely used, so may appear strange to some hearers

\+ Moll only if he is a crook: this is a word in minority use

13. That elderly woman on the corner is our neighbour. She's a nice

old dear
old lady 4
* pain 5
* old bag 6
* boot 7
* wife 8
* lass 9
* moll 10
* scrubber 1
* pro 2
? dame 3

Vs. A8, C4

14. She just never stops talking. She means well but she's a complete

		pain	5
		pain in the arse	
Vs. B2	*	nag	6
	*	cow	7
	*	wife	8
	*	girl	9
	*	moll	10
	*	tramp	1
	*	pro	2
	*	dame	3
	*	woman	4

15. Oh, that old moan / old bag 6 is always getting at the kids for playing in the street.

	?	boot	7
	*	wife	8
Vs. B1	?	girl	9
	*	moll	10
	*	tramp	1
	*	pro	2
	+	dame	3
		woman	4
	?	pain in the neck	5

+ <u>dame</u> where dame is being used in a non specific, neutral sense (see below).

16. Susie has always been a bad-tempered young tart
She's wasting her time getting dressed up every evening, and putting her makeup on with a trowel.

Vs. A2, C9, C10

bitch 7
* girlfriend 8
? girl 9
* moll 10
? trollop 1
* flirt 2
* dame 3
woman 4
* pain 5
* old bag 6

17. You and your wife girlfriend 8 have been together a long time now, haven't you?

Vs. C1, A11

girl 9
* moll 10
* slut 1
* pro 2
? bird 3
old lady 4
* pain in the arse 5
* old bag 6
* tart 7

18. The new teacher is a very pleasant young lass female 9

Vs. C8, A9

* moll 10

18. contd.

* scrubber 1
* pro 2
\+ chick 3
woman 4
* pain in the arse 5
* moan 6
\+ ride 7
* girlfriend 8

\+ chick not widely used so may appear strange.

\+ ride only if the speaker is an interested male.

19. Bonnie, of Bonnie and Clyde, was probably the most famous ganster's moll 10 ever.

Vs. A4, C6

* slag 1
* pro 2
? dame 3
? old lady 4
* pain 5
* old bag 6
floosy 7
girlfriend 8
? female 9

Close examination of such examples as these refutes a priori intuitions regarding the widespread applicability

of such items as girl and woman. For example, girl and woman are both totally semantically unacceptable in sentence 11, although girl would a priori have been thought an acceptable substitute for flirt. Likewise, in sentence 10 woman and girl are only partially acceptable. The awkwardness of their use in these sentences perhaps lies in the syntactic structure used which results in tautology if either of these items is inserted: the sentences then being equivalent to ... "she (that female human) is a woman/girl". Thus in these cases, it is the very fact of their generality which may preclude their use.

Of the clusters generated in Table 12, two seem to comprise rather odd mixtures, viz. cluster 2 and cluster 7. Cluster 2 contains only two items:- pro(sty/stitute) and flirt. The linking of this pair can perhaps be explained by the fact that pro as a Slang item, does not mean literally a professional, but merely someone who 'goes around with' a large number of men, with obvious sexual implications. Flirt is also used to denote a woman who 'goes around with' a lot of men, but in this case at least some of the users are not committing themselves about the woman's sexual involvement. Both these items have a very restricted range:- 95% of occurrences of flirt are on variables C2 and B4, 90% of occurrences of pro are on variables C2, B4 and A5.

The problem of cluster 7 is rather more complicated. First, it is unquestionably heterogeneous, as the results of increasing the total number of clusters has shown (see Results Section 1). This is indicative of an inadequacy in the statistical methods used to differentiate between clusters. However, the failure is not as gross as might at first appear, for it is not so much a failure to distinguish between two separate groups of items as a failure to distinguish between a group of items and their limited-context synonyms. Thus tart, whore, ride and floosy form what one might call the core of cluster 7, being linked together on the basis of high scores on some or all of these variables: C2, C9, A2 and A5, and to a lesser extent A3 and B4. Doll is linked with cluster 7 on the basis of a high score on A2 and C9. Its high score on C5 might have put it into cluster 3, but this cluster has no high scores for variables A2 and C9. Many cluster 1 items score highly on these two variables; however doll, in common with the other items of cluster 7, has a very low score on the main variable of cluster 1, viz. C11. Thus doll is more closely linked to cluster 7 than to any other cluster. Bitch, cow and boot on the other hand are all very widely distributed items and therefore will overlap to a small extent with every other cluster, particularly with clusters 1, 5 and 6. The scores which link these items with cluster 7 are on variables B4 (bitch

and cow), C2 (cow and boot) and A3 and C9 (boot). Their similarity with cluster 1 is based on the scores on C2, and on C11 for boot. However, C2 is not a crucial variable for cluster 1, as it is for cluster 7. The similarities to clusters 5 and 6 depend on variables C3, B1, C10 and A6 but in neither of these clusters do significant scores appear on C2, C9, B4 or A5. Therefore these three items again provide synonyms for the other items in cluster 7 in certain restricted contexts.

These observations show that a number of Slang items can be used acceptably in a wide and heterogeneous range of contexts. The possibility of these contexts being semantically linked requires consideration. Consider, for instance, the item tramp. According to Table 12, a tramp may be a woman who is dirty and untidy (C11); who goes out with a large number of men (C2); or who uses a good deal of makeup (C9). She is not apparently taken to be a woman who nags (A6), dresses fashionably (C5), shows ill-temper (C3, C10), is good looking (A7) or whom one picks up at a dance (A3). For example:-

20. *That's a smashing looking tramp leaning against the shop window.
21. *She dressed in the height of fashion like the tramp she was.
22. +His wife is a real tramp - she nags at him all the time.

23. +That's the tramp he picked up at the dance last Friday.

Sentences 20 and 21 seem unacceptable - the word tramp is wrongly used.
Sentences 22 and 23 might be uttered, but the use of tramp seems to imply something about the woman that is not explicit in the rest of the sentence. Thus:-

24. His wife is a real tramp. What is more she nags at him all the time.
25. He picked her up at the dance last Friday, so she must be a tramp.
26. That's the girl he picked up at the dance last Friday. She looks like a tramp. Bad luck for him.

24 seems more comfortably acceptable than 22, while 25 and 26 illustrate two possible distinct interpretations of the rather ambiguous 23.

As in the case of tramp, so for most of the other items the range of appropriate contexts is restricted (see sentences 10-19 above). A tart is a woman who goes around with several men (C2), who dresses fashionably or over-dresses (A2, C5), who uses a lot of makeup (C9) or who dresses in a manner suggestive of promiscuous habits (A5). The last mentioned may provide the key to the connection between these various contexts, a hypothesis to explain

which is illustrated in the following lines of false reasoning:-

I (Definition) A tart is a sexually promiscuous woman.

II (a) x dresses as sexually promiscuous women dress

(b) Therefore, x is sexually promiscuous

(c) Therefore, x is a tart

Similarly

III (a) x uses a lot of makeup

(b) Women who use a lot of makeup are sexually promiscuous

(c) Therefore, x is sexually promiscuous

(d) Therefore, x is a tart

and similarly for the case of fashionable dressing or overdressing.

It is interesting to consider a similar analysis in the case of tramp.

I (Definition) A tramp is a woman of dirty and untidy habits.

II (Assumption) A woman of dirty and untidy habits is sexually promiscuous. Therefore, a tramp is sexually promiscuous.

III (a) x goes out with a large number of men

(b) Therefore, x is sexually promiscuous

(c) Therefore, x is a tramp

etc. Since presumably one cannot simultaneously be fashionably dressed and of dirty and untidy habits, fashionably dressed and even overdressed women are not commonly described as tramps - despite the assumption suggested above that fashionable dress indicates promiscuity. Hence, despite the overlap in scores on variables C2 and C9, tramp and tart are assigned to different clusters. The item mess seems to be applied by some subjects to any female who presents a remarkable visual appearance (C11, C9, A2, A5)+ but in this case sexual implications seem to be absent since mess has a zero score for C2. This point is made to emphasise that while indirect implication of promiscuity is the link between 'appropriate' contexts for many items, it is not so for all.

The majority of the items under discussion are, like tramp and mess, restricted in their applicability to a small range of contexts. A small number of instances of extension of the range by anology or by false reasoning are apparent for practically all items. Thus, tart appears occasionally in answer to A3, A9, C6 and even C8 (either indicating that some subjects believe that any young female can reasonably be accused of sexual promiscuity, or that for these subjects tart conveys no such implication). Only a few items such as moll, flirt, mess, lumber, girlfriend, pain and old dear are largely exempt from this sort of

extension. In contrast, some items show a remarkably broad range of applicability: for example the items in cluster 7 discussed above, and also slut, dame and woman (clusters 1, 3 and 4 respectively). The high scores given by slut on variables C11 and A5 suggest a linkage between these contexts similar to that proposed for tramp; the moderate score on C2 supports this view. In brief, a slut is primarily a dirty or untidy woman; this might suggest that she is sexually promiscuous (see discussion of tramp above); and hence the term could come to be applied also to a female who dresses in fishnet tights and mini-skirt, or to one who sports an endlessly changing succession of male companions. Extension of this argument can presumably explain the non-zero scores for slut on C9, (wearing of much makeup), A2 (overdressing), A3, A11 and C6 (where the association of the woman with one man may perhaps be taken to indicate that she can be associated with others). The use of slut in A9 is perhaps linked with its occurrence in A1, A6, C3 and C10; it is being used merely as a derogatory term to denote someone whose behaviour or character one deplores. This application of slut is perhaps not so far removed from the uses discussed above, therefore, as might at first appear.

The fact that a small number of subjects seem prepared to apply the epithet slut to any female, old or young,

recalls the preparedness of some individuals to dub any female a tart (see above): that is, the Slang item is being used in a gratuitously derogatory manner.

Unlike slut, dame except in three of its rarer occurrences (A6, C7, C10) would appear to be used either as a neutral term for a woman (C4, A8, C8, C5, A9, A3, C9) or perhaps with positive approbation, as it seems to be used in A2 and A7. Dame is also used in possessive contexts such as A11 and C1, and with the additional component of Americanism (as indicated by the use of the term ganster), C6 and A4. Thus, although it is difficult to tell in any particular context whether the term is meant absolutely neutrally or with an element of approbation, it is clear that dame is not subject to derogatory extension of the type found with tart, tramp and slut, but is more in keeping with the neutral senses of woman (below). It is its use in a neutral, non-derogatory and often possessive context which underlies its inclusion in cluster 3 along with bird, chick, bit/piece etc.

Reference has already been made to the a priori broad applicability of woman, and despite the reservations about this discussed above, the item can indeed appear in a large number of contexts. However, apart from the cases where possession is indicated (viz. C6, A4, A11, C1 and perhaps A3), the instances of woman can all be accounted

for in terms of Standard English usage.

The general conclusion to be drawn from the above discussion is that despite the broad and heterogeneous range of applicability of some of the items in Table 12, the allocation of items to clusters is consistent with linguistic intuitions. This reinforces the arguments advanced in Section 2 above, in favour of the extension of use of appropriate cluster analysis techniques to further linguistic research.

SUMMARY

1. A partitioning cluster analysis procedure was applied to selected results from the questionnaire described in Chapter 1 in order to identify objective semantic groupings in the data.
2. A single-context synonymity test was also applied to the data.
3. The cluster analysis procedure partitioned 38 items over 24 variables into 10 stable, significantly different clusters.
4. The single-context synonymity test elicited 25 pairs of synonyms, 11 of which were consistent with the clusters generated.
5. The range of cluster analysis procedures available

was assessed with regard to their applicability in this field.

6. The restrictions imposed by the choice of cluster analysis technique on data input were discussed with regard to linguistic data.
7. The application of computer-aided research in linguistics in general was briefly reviewed, and previous uses of cluster analysis procedures in this area outlined.
8. Suggestions were made for the further employment of cluster analysis methods in work of the kind undertaken in this Chapter.
9. The cluster analysis results were shown to be consistent with linguistic intuitions.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRODUCTION

Since it has been shown in the preceding chapters that Slang items do have different semantic effects, this chapter contains an investigation into which semantic categories are involved in the different effects achieved by the use of Slang items as opposed to Standard English items, and also by the use of one Slang item as opposed to another. Initially this investigation will be carried out in terms of Leech's (1974) seven types of meaning.

In Chapter 3 a cluster analysis procedure was proposed as a method for analysing semantically the data gained from the questionnaire described in Chapter 1. Considerable discussion was devoted to the advantages and disadvantages of such a method. In this chapter I also wish to consider the various suggestions which other people have made as to the proper way to analyse Slang items. These largely centre on the traditional view that Slang can best be dealt with in terms of stylistic choice. After considering this suggestion for the treatment of Slang items I shall continue by reviewing the most widely adopted frameworks for semantic analysis of Standard English items and see how far these can be employed in the analysis of data of the type discussed in this Thesis.

It is not my object in one chapter to give a thorough review of the current state of semantic theory - an undertaking which would require at the very least an entire thesis to itself. Such a review, however, can be found in Lyons (1977). I have therefore confined myself to discussion of relevant aspects of a few well-known proposals for methods of semantic analysis. For this reason I base my discussion largely on the work of Leech, who seems to give a fairly representative account of the current state of semantic analysis. I also incorporate discussion of certain proposals from Lehrer, Bendix and Bierwisch, particularly those which relate to componential analysis, and which have relevance for the problems faced in dealing with the particular type of data with which this work is concerned.

Componential analysis is an approach to the description of meaning which relies on the basic hypothesis that the meaning of any lexeme can be expressed as a number of more general meaning components (or semantic features) at least some of which (in Leech (1974), all of which) will be shared by a number of different lexemes. Componential analyses usually concentrate mainly, if not entirely, on 'conceptual' meaning - very roughly similar to Aristotle's 'essences'. They seldom treat in any detail other aspects of meaning such as 'connotative', 'stylistic', 'affective'

meaning. (For discussion of these terms see below.) This approach does not in fact necessitate a 'conceptualist' or mentalistic framework (Lyons 1968) though it is frequently taken to do so - e.g. Katz (1964) uses as the basis on which to form his components "the idea that each of us thinks of as part of the meaning of the words..." Generally speaking componential analysis seems to be utilised not so much to analyse individual lexemes in isolation, but to identify supposed shared features of meaning in carefully selected groups of lexemes (cf. Katz, 1964); it was in fact introduced for precisely this purpose by anthropologists studying kinship terms in various languages (Goodenough, 1956; Lounsbury, 1956). If componential analysis is to be used to explain empirically demonstrated differences in the contexts in which two or more lexical items occur, however, it must be able to reveal those features of meaning which distinguish the items rather than those shared by them. Moreover, notwithstanding the point (see above) made by Lyons (1968), such use of the technique undoubtedly necessitates conceptualist assumptions if the explanation is to be of any interest.

The attempt is made in this chapter to apply componential analysis to the Slang items discussed in Chapter 3 (cf. Table 12). The results of this attempt

are reviewed and a few suggestions of how to overcome particular difficulties are advanced.

DISCUSSION

Leech (1974) distinguishes seven types of meaning: conceptual, connotative, collocative, stylistic, affective, reflected and thematic. Of these, he considers only two, viz. stylistic and affective, to be relevant to Slang. Moreover, he describes affective meaning as a parasitic category, dependent on stylistic, conceptual or connotative meaning.

This approach implies that given a particular "concept" one may express it either in Standard English or in Slang, and that this choice is purely stylistic. While I would agree that such a choice could be stylistic I strongly doubt that it is always so. For instance in the sentence of the first questionnaire described in Chapter 1:-

A.2. You wouldn't believe it to look at her now, but she used to get all dressed up every single evening. What a _____ she was!

the most frequently occurring answers were:- Tart (108), Doll/Dolly (37) and Sight (11). If the choice of any of these items instead of a Standard English alternative is a purely stylistic one, then one might expect to be able to show a small number at least of Standard English

answers from the 294 subjects, as was the case e.g. with the answers to question B1. In fact Girl and Gal together had 4 occurrences and Woman 3. Girl/Gal therefore occurred in less than 1½% of the answers and Woman in only 1%. There is also the point that in the phrase

1. What a Girl/Woman she was!

these two items seem intuitively not to be used in their normal Standard English senses. That is, one is not actually saying

2. What a 'young female human'/'adult female human' she was!

but rather that in some way she was larger than life. Perhaps for example

3. What a character/eccentric/great beauty/attractive woman she was!

In this particular syntactic structure therefore these two normally Standard English items appear to have a slangy sense of there being something unusual or extra-ordinary about the girl or woman. Certainly the syntactic framework was presented to the subjects as a fait accompli and therefore the fact that the normally Standard English items above have a slangy feature as used here cannot be attributed with certainty to the intent of the subjects. It is noticeable that not one of the subjects made any attempt to render the meaning of Tart in Standard English,

which one would surely have expected some subjects to attempt if Leech's view of Slang is correct. Indeed it is rather difficult to see how such a rendition could be made. It is no doubt possible to express the concept represented by Tart in Standard English: Partridge (1961) gives as its modern sense

> "a fast or immoral woman ... (but if old always old tart)"

In this particular context tart seems rather to mean "an overdressed/fashionable and possibly immoral woman" (see Chapter 3 Discussion B.3). It is surely a little suspect to claim that

4. "What an overdressed/fashionable and possibly fast and immoral woman she was!"

is merely a stylistic alternative to

5. "What a tart she was!"

since empirically it is just not used as such. It is worth noting that there was only one occurrence each of amoral and promiscuous in the whole questionnaire, and none at all of immoral. This argument against the view that tart and immoral or overdressed woman are stylistic variants or in effect synonyms seems to be essentially the same as the argument put forward by Lyons (1968) against considering cow (in its Standard English sense)

and mature female bovine animal in the same light. In both cases the arguments are based on empirical fact rather than theoretical preference.

It seems to me that the stylistic element is present rather in the choice of subject matter than in the choice of vocabulary. There are very few formal occasions (excluding the present thesis) when such a subject would be discussed. If for some reason the topic did arise then I think one would find that Slang vocabulary was used.

Notice further that the use of Tart or Doll/Dolly in answer to A2 is consistent with the speaker/subject either approving or disapproving of the woman's previous behaviour. The use of fast, overdressed or immoral woman is only consistent with a disapproving attitude. Thus the affective meanings of the two options - Standard English and Slang-also differ from one another. (In this sense therefore these are not properly equivalent, and an even more protracted and roundabout way would need to be found to give a closer rendering of Tart in Standard English.) However the use of a Slang item as opposed to the use of a Standard English item does not necessarily result in a difference of affective meaning. For example:-

6. "Doesn't she ever stop talking? What a pain in the neck."

and

7. "Doesn't she ever stop talking? What an irritating woman."

have roughly the same affective meaning. Similarly the members of the pairs: old bag and nasty old woman; and madam and conceited girl, are alike in affective meaning. It would appear therefore that Turner (1973, p.191) was incorrect in asserting that slang and colloquialism "are always partly protective of the inner self."

Slang items presumably have a certain amount of collocative meaning, since certain items can become inappropriate if one includes a particular lexical item in the same statement. For example constraints such as the following operate:- with old, bag and wifie are very appropriate but doll and chick are not. (Cf. Table 12 variables C4, C7, A1, A8). Girl, Chick, Scrubber and lass(ie) can appear qualified by the term teenage while Lady, Dear, Bag and Slag apparently cannot (cf. Table 12 variable A9). In Slang but not in Standard English Girl can collocate with the item old, so as far as collocative meaning is concerned in at least one case Slang and Standard English items behave semantically differently. However, it seems that some of the constraints mentioned immediately above are stronger than those which govern the occurrences of the items e.g. pretty and handsome. In the latter cases most lexical items which can be described

in terms of visual effect will permit the occurrence of either item, but with a rather different meaning in each case (a pretty house conjures up visions of perhaps a rambling-rose covered thatched cottage; a handsome house conjures up visions of perhaps a house with a Georgian facade). The constraints which govern the occurrence of most of the Slang items mentioned above, however, are rather stronger: (a young dear does not seem to have any slang meaning compatible with that of an old dear; in fact it does not occur in any of the situations offered in the questionnaire (see Table 2.1.A)). It is difficult to decide therefore whether young dear ought to be marked as ill-formed, i.e. *young dear and its ill-formedness explained not in terms of collocative meaning, but in terms of selectional restrictions.

The greatest difficulty which arises from Leech's analysis of semantic types however, is how to differentiate Conceptual and Connotative meaning. Leech (1974) outlines this distinction by saying that the conceptual meaning of an item comprises all and only the 'integral attributes' of its referent, while its connotative meaning is an open-ended class of the 'typical concommitants' of that referent. Conceptual, but not connotative, meaning can be analysed fully; the form of the analysis will be based on a search for constituent features partly

determined by the principle of contrastiveness. The Aristotelian essentialism implicit in Leech's distinction is not consistently maintained in his account, however; not only does he fail to offer any programme for distinguishing 'integral' from 'nonintegral' attributes, but also he refers on at least one occasion to a 'definitive connotation' of an item - surely an incoherent idea in view of the distinction outlined. Moreover, he states that the cognitive meaning of an utterance - while comprising its most integral attributes - is not necessarily the most important aspect of the utterance in terms of its communicative value.

Leech (1974) points out that the feature '+ skirt wearing' for the item woman would have been connotative rather than conceptual for the 18th century use of the item, for although in that era women were in practice '+ skirt wearing' there was no universal or physical requirement for the feature. However, surely if one was to 'define' lady in 18th century Britain '+ skirt wearing' would not have been merely connotative but actually part of that item's conceptual meaning, although again obviously there was no universal or physical requirement for the feature. 'Defining property' is presumably to be understood in terms of 'most integral attribute' and therefore for reasons outlined above cannot be fully objectively determined. Surely some culturally generated 'connotations' could not

be recognised as such in their own particular cultures, but would necessarily appear to be conceptual features? For example, the item atom from the time of Democritus up to the time of Lord Kelvin had as an essential conceptual feature '-divisible'. This suggests that Leech's distinction of conceptual meaning as a closed finite system, and connotative meaning as "open-ended in the same way as our knowledge and beliefs about the universe are open-ended" can only be operated either with hindsight or by the omniscient.

The consistent application of the distinction between conceptual and connotative meaning is thus impossible to maintain diachronically. Moreover, since there is not usually a single point in time when an item's connotations become part of its conceptual meaning, and vice versa, and since an item may synchronically have different conceptual features for different people (e.g. a particle physicist's mass differs conceptually from a solid state physicist's mass) the distinction is impossible to formalise even in a strictly synchronic analysis, a point to which Leech (1974) partially accedes:- "the conceptual meanings of most words, and especially of abstract words... remain to some extent indeterminate " (p.56).

If, interpreting Leech (1974) in the extreme form,

i.e. that all differences between Slang items are purely connotative (in Leech's sense), one deals with differences (a) between different Slang items and (b) between Slang items and Standard English items as primarily differences in (a) connotations and (b) stylistic meaning, then it will be impossible to give a componential analysis which reflects the fact that some Slang items seem to be very roughly equivalent to woman e.g. wifie and old dear; some to girl e.g. chick and bird; and others to either e.g. slut and tart; unless one also deals with the difference between woman and girl in purely connotative terms. Certainly it would be difficult to draw a clear line between what constitutes a woman and what constitutes a girl; the same difficulty occurs in trying to distinguish middle-aged and elderly, warm and tepid. However, since some distinction of this kind is made by practically all native speakers of English this distinction seems to be relevant to conceptual rather than connotative meaning.

If the only measure of whether or not to use a particular feature in componential analysis is how frequently the feature is useful in "allowing us to make generalizations covering a range of lexical items" (Leech, 1974, p.99), then will we ever be able to use componential analysis to distinguish even the majority of items in any language from one another? Consider the

adjectives changed, altered and different. Surely if we observed the criterion stated above then these three items would be identical in their componential analyses - a possible set of features would be '+ abstract' '+not as previously'. But this could not account for the fact that while these items can be understood in essentially the same way in

8. Her personality is quite changed
altered
different

and in

changed
9. Her face is quite different
altered

they can on the other hand be understood differently. Leaving aside any argument about whether or not the choice of one as opposed to another of these adjectives results in a difference of degree of change being implied, it is possible in 8 and probable in 9 that a hearer will interpret the sentence containing different in a way which is not possible for changed and altered. Changed and altered have essentially the same meaning:- they would appropriate in 9 if 'she' looked much older than previously, or had undergone plastic surgery. Different would also be appropriate in these contexts but here it has a further

possible interpretation which the other two items do not, viz. that the face referred to may belong to someone else, i.e. "That is not Jean, her face is quite different (from Jean's)". This difference in possible interpretations is due to the fact that changed and altered have as part of their meaning the restriction that the object referred to as being changed or altered must be understood to be essentially the same object after the change or alteration whereas this restriction does not apply to different. This feature seems to me to be essential to the meaning of changed and therefore part of its conceptual meaning and not just one of its connotations. Yet if one was able to condense this into a component of meaning e.g.

For changed/altered

Properties of x at time $t_1 \neq$ properties of x at time t_2

For different

as above, or

Properties of x $\neq$ properties of y at any time ($y \neq x$)

one might at first thought consider that these components could not be used to distinguish or make a generalization about many items and therefore according to the constraint mentioned above it would be better not to use these as components in a componential analysis. However, components

similar to these could be used for verbs of motion (properties = properties of location), for individual items, e.g. to mature, to develop, and for comparatives etc. In the case I have cited, and I suspect in many other cases, one cannot tell whether or not a component is going to be generalisable until it has been formulated. However, no doubt there are many components which have unique or extremely limited application, e.g. one component of ear-ring would be 'attached to ear' or, better, (Purpose X = ear-decoration) which in English at least, so far as I can see, has only the one application.

As I have tried to indicate, it is not only in the analysis of Slang items that componential analysis raises difficulties. The difficulties met with in analysing Slang are often also encountered in the treatment of Standard English items. Another example of a shared problem can be seen by comparing the Slang items for women with English colour terms. Take the following utterances.

10. That garment is orange.

11. That woman is a tart.

Each of these sentences could be uttered in such circumstances that a native speaker of English would declare them to be true, e.g. if the garment referred to in 10

had a colour which exactly matched that of an orange held beside it, or if the woman referred to in 11 had just been convicted by a court of law for soliciting in the street. Likewise each of these sentences could be uttered in such circumstances that a native speaker of English would declare them to be false, e.g. if the garment referred to in 10 was actually blue, or if the woman referred to in 11 was a very pious nun. Over and above these situations in which the sentences can be agreed to be either true or false, there are two types of circumstances in which they would not be generally accepted as either. The first type of circumstance almost never occurs in the unselfconscious speech of adult native speakers of English, viz. sentence 10 is uttered while the speaker points at a table, or sentence 11 is uttered while he points at a bull. These circumstances are characterised by the inappropriateness of the items garment and woman respectively. The second type of circumstance is not so hypothetical, but can and does occur in normal speech. Such circumstances might be when a reddish-orange or orangy-pink garment is being referred to, or when a woman wearing a low-cut blouse and/or excessive makeup is discussed. These are cases in which it is possible for two native speakers to hold different opinions on the correct classification or description of the object under discussion, and while each may be convinced that he is right, an appeal to others present is likely to reveal

a general uncertainty about the correctness of applying the terms orange and tart to these cases. Moreover this type of difficulty is not confined to the classification of specific cases, but is often more general. A group of native speakers may be consistent and persistent in using the item orange to describe objects which another group persistently and consistently describes as pink. A similar situation exists for Slang items such as tart, bitch and wifie. A definition of orange could be given in a scientific division of the spectrum, but since this would not reflect or affect the use of the item in ordinary speech it would not be linguistically valuable. Likewise an attempt to impose arbitrary limits on what do and what do not constitute the criteria which exactly define a tart would have little relevance in reality. However, just as one would not wish to declare that the use of orange was a purely stylistic choice, and that orange had no conceptual meaning beyond '+ colour' - its use for any particular shade or tint being purely an idiosyncratic matter - one would surely not wish to make similar declarations about tart and the other Slang terms for women.

This point, that for a very large number of vocabulary items there is a degree of 'fuzziness' of meaning which a strict binary features form of componential analysis cannot deal with is recognised by most linguists in this field.

There are some items in the English Language the meanings of which contain an inescapable element of fuzziness. For each item of this type there will be a group of connotations. Here I use connotations (for lack of a better term) to mean a set of attributes, some non-empty subset of which is essential to the meaning of the item in any particular instance of its use, but no element of which is an integral attribute or defining property (and therefore in Leech's (1974) terminology none can be termed an element of conceptual meaning). From this set of connotations at least one must be applicable in the speaker's opinion and one in the hearer's opinion for the item to be deemed to be appropriately used (cf. Chapter 1, Results Section). The connotation considered relevant by the speaker need not be identical to that considered relevant by the hearer for some understanding to be possible. In such a case, however, there will clearly be a lack of accuracy. In order to give an adequate componential analysis of items of this type, therefore, it is essential to include some component or components which may be regarded as a universal set of which the individual connotations constitute possibly intersecting and usually fuzzy subsets, (for mathematical theory of fuzzy sets see Kaufmann (1975)), (see below).

Various attempts have been made to increase the flexibility of componential analysis. Bendix (1966)

rather than using the more common atomic components, i.e. generally single word features e.g. '± human', '± animate', '± male', uses as his components propositions akin to those of formal (predicate) logic. He then uses the number of places of a fuction as a distinguishing factor, e.g. he distinguishes the German homonyms Mann as follows:-

(Mann = A)

(a) A is a man (1 place)

(b) a married woman is married to A (2 place)

This system is liable to produce features that have no very general application, however, which according to the constraint discussed above is an undesirable factor. Also, while this system may help to distinguish homonyms, it clearly could not be used as a more general basis of distinction for thousands of words would have two place or one place functions, the content of the proposition rather than the number of places being the variable in such cases.

Bierwisch (1970) and Leech (1974) advocate the addition to binary features of polar components, explained by Bierwisch in terms of relative meaning, e.g.

12. John is a fool =

13. John is more foolish than X where X is the

relevant norm.

Even this gives only a binary distinction however:
either 'more' or 'less' ..... than the relevant norm.

Leech (1974) divided componential analysis into six types as follows:-

(a) Binary taxonomy e.g. '$\pm$ live'

(b) Multiple taxonomy e.g. *metal (tin) $\ddagger$ metal (gold) $^{\circ}$ metal (iron)

(c) Polar Oppositions e.g. $\frac{\uparrow}{\downarrow}$ norm $\frac{\text{large} \quad (\uparrow\text{size})}{\text{small} \quad (\downarrow\text{size})}$

(d) Relative Oppositions e.g. $\longrightarrow$ parent(of), $\longleftarrow$ parent (child of)

(e) Hierarchy e.g. 1. length (inch), 2. lenth (foot),
3. length (yard)

(f) Inverse Opposition e.g. Δ possible, ∇ possible (necessary)

A taxonomic opposition is <u>binary</u> when it comprises two terms, the contrast between which is absolute; e.g. + male (= male), - male (normally presumed to entail 'female'). Despite the absoluteness of this contrast, acceptable sentences indicating fuzziness in it can be constructed e.g.:-

14. "That's the book written by the man who became a woman".

Fuzziness is perhaps more evident in the case of a <u>multiple taxonomy</u> (i.e. an opposition comprising more than

two terms). Leech gives the examples of (a) metals (see above), (b) species of animals, and (c) colours to illustrate this notion, and points out that a sentence like

15. "That red book is brown"

is contradictory while e.g.

16. "That red book is red"

is tautological. So far, the contrasts between component terms are clear-cut. Transitional shades such as reddish-brown do not, however, give sentences with clear-cut truth values, e.g. is

17. ?"That reddish-brown book is brownish-red"

tautological or contradictory or does it (in the mathematical sense of the term) have a finite information-content?

More intrinsically fuzzy still are polar oppositions, where two contrasting terms represent extremes of a continuous scale. The scale allows for the existence of a fuzzy 'middle ground' or 'norm', as indicated by the differing acceptabilities of the following:-

18. * "X is alive and dead" (contradiction: binary opposition)

19. * "Y is rich and poor" (contradiction: polar opposition)

20. * "X is neither alive nor dead" (contradiction because it contravenes the law of excluded middle, though often used figuratively: binary opposition)

21. "Y is neither rich nor poor" (polar opposition)

Leech points out that in a polar opposition the norm is (i) object-related, e.g. a <u>small alsation</u> is not a <u>small dog</u>; (ii) role-related, e.g. a <u>good boss</u> (this does not seem to be clearly distinct from (i)); (iii) speaker-related e.g. Getty might regard Rockefeller as poor; X might regard Ms. Y as attractive, Z might regard her as otherwise. Leech does not make explicit the point that the speaker-relatedness is also potentially time-dependent - (X and Z might change their opinions); this increases the fuzziness of the opposition still further.

His other three types (d) (e) and (f) above do not appear to have any relevance for the analysis of Slang items. (For a full explanation of what is meant by these terms see Leech (1974, pp.106-117).)

If an attempt was made to analyse Slang items according to this structure, then the types of componential analysis which might prove helpful in my opinion are:-

(a) Binary Taxonomy. This type is discussed in some

detail below.

(b) Multiple Taxonomy. This type could be used for gross classification, i.e. * woman (tart), ‡ woman (doll), ° woman (bitch) etc. The use of this type of analysis serves no purpose other than to indicate that all these items belong to the class of items referring to women.

(c) Polar Oppositions. This type could possibly be used, although the choice of which qualities or properties to take as oppositions might prove difficult. The difficulty people have in being certain in particular cases whether or not a woman is a tart could perhaps be explained in terms of there being a rather subjective and hence variable 'norm' of 'tartiness'. However, while this category of polar opposition is helpful in discussing cases where at least some speakers could be represented as thinking someone was 'tartier' than the norm, no evidence appeared in the answers to the questionnaire for such a norm existing at all. For example, nowhere was there evidence for a concept of 'less tarty' than the norm. Although such information was not requested, some evidence might have appeared in answer to e.g. question C1. Would the concept of 'less tarty than the norm' be filled by the use of the term prude or girlfriend? These items (prude and girlfriend) do not seem to me to be in true opposition to the concept represented by tart. For example, contrast

22. *That large dog is small.

and 23. That tart is his girlfriend.

or 24. ?That tart is a prude.

Clearly there would be some difficulty in deciding what were suitable properties for treatment as polar opposites.

In addition to the basic binary taxonomy of componential analysis Lehrer (1969) uses the symbol 'o feature'. For example, if the feature in question is 'maturity' one has three possibilities:- '+ maturity'; '- maturity'; or 'o maturity' where 'o maturity' represents the fact that maturity is not a relevant component for the meaning of the item in question. Thus person could be marked 'o maturity' and 'o male', which within the field of terms for human beings would range it with human being but distinguish it from:-

man (in its non-generic sense) = '+ maturity' '+ male'

woman = '+ maturity' '- male'

and child = '- maturity' 'o male'

This avoids a potential problem in componential analysis of confusing the item or its denotation or sense with the referent. For example, while one particular child is obviously in practice either '+ male' or '- male' it

seems inappropriate to include the feature '$\pm$ male' in the componential analysis of child. Gender is a contingent attribute of a particular instance of a child; it is not part of the meaning of the item itself. There are still difficulties in the use of 'o' feature however. E.g. is gelding 'o male' or is it perhaps ('+ male' at time t_1, '- male' at time t_2)? Also while the use of the symbol 'o feature' may be a useful formalisation within restricted lexical fields (see Chapter 3, Discussion B.2) it could not be used more generally, for the list of irrelevant components for any item, if chosen from the pool of all possible components, would be unmanageably large.

Part of the difficulty of selecting the most appropriate components for analysis of these Slang items is that the crucial criteria are not always objectively ascertainable. That is, in determining the most appropriate components to use in distinguishing man from blackbird or ape, there are clearly observable empirical differences to choose from. All normal people are able to distinguish things human from things non-human so the component '$\pm$ human' as a cover symbol for whatever it is that people base their judgements on seems to be a reasonable one to use. However, in distinguishing an old bag from other women for example, there are no unequivocal objective observable features to go by. One makes a judgement based on a mixture of features of appearance and behaviour, but this judgement is much

less likely to be unanimously agreed than a judgement about human versus non-human status. (It is worth noticing that even this normally unproblematic distinction can be clouded, e.g. people might well argue about the human or non-human status of gods and heroes, centaurs, minataurs and merpeople. The difference between scientific classification and normal lay classification is discussed by Slote (1966).) Nor are such features normally scientifically characterisable. In some Slang items (see discussion of tart below) this very element of judgement rather than fact seems to be a part of the meaning.

An attempt was made to use a modified binary taxonomy to analyse the semantics of Slang terms for women, using chiefly atomic components. The results of this attempt are set out in Table 16. As can be seen from that table, the variables A1-C12 were intuitively combined into six final components. The variables considered relevant to each component were as follows:-

'$\pm$ youth' - C3, C10, C8, A9, C4, C7

'$\pm$ attractiveness' - C5, (A7), C11, (A5)

'$\pm$ bad temper' - A1, C3, B1, C10, C7 (A6)

'$\pm$ irritating' - B2, A6, (B4)

'$\pm$ promiscuity' - C2, B4, (A5), C1, A11

'$\pm$ criminal associations' - C6, A4

The variables given in parenthesis are those which can only be taken to be relevant for that feature if the particular item being analysed has a positive score on one of the variables not in brackets. A variable which appears in brackets twice for one component is one for which a score could mean either that the item has a + or a - score for that component, and can only be interpreted as one or the other according to whether the item also has a score on one of the positive variables outside brackets, or one of the negative variables outside brackets. The variables which imply a positive score for the component are given before those which imply a negative score in the lists above.

As can be seen from the table quite a number of difficulties arose through the attempt at this kind of analysis. These were:-

1. In an attempt to generalise and thus reduce the number of components to a few simple binary features, question answers were taken to represent binary oppositions of one component when in fact the evidence did not justify such action: e.g. Variables C2 versus C1 in the component '$\pm$ promiscuity' (see discussion of sentences 23 and 24 above).

2. Initially the components '$\pm$ dirty/untidy' and '$\pm$

favourable appearance' were used. An argument can be made in favour of maintaing the more specific feature '± dirty/untidy' for it could be applied in distinguishing such pairs of items as dog 'o dirty/untidy' and mut/cur '+ dirty/untidy'; horse 'o dirty/untidy' and nag '+ dirty/untidy'; also for house, slum; paper, litter; child, urchin. However, for the data in Table 16 items scoring '+ dirty/untidy' also consistently scored '- favourable appearance' and the two components were thus combined as '± attractiveness'. While this composite component could still be used to distinguish the pairs above, it does not seem to me to be quite so semantically significant. This raises the problem that what appear to be the most economical components in one area of study, while still relevant, may not prove to be the most useful in another and this may result in a loss of accuracy in an attempt at economy.

3. In an attempt to abstract generally applicable features some peculiar results were obtained. For example, the use of the component '+ criminal association' to represent answers to A4 and C6 produced the result that prostitute (including pro/prosty) was either '- criminal associations' or 'o criminal associations'.

4. It was impossible to find convincing criteria for distinguishing between genuinely negative feature values and the irrelevant feature values. This problem was

discussed in Chapter 3 Discussion Section A.3; and with the combined feature system used for the componential analysis shown in Table 16, one could not tell whether a zero score should be interpreted as having that negative feature ('- feature') or as not having that feature at all ('o feature').

5. Inspection of Table 12 reveals that while for each feature some items show a very high score and can thus unequivocally be marked either '+ feature' or '- feature' (e.g. slut is clearly '- attractive', doll '+ attractive' (see scores for variables C5 (A7), C11 (A5) in Table 12)), other items show low scores (e.g. tart has a small positive score on attractiveness (see scores for variable C5 (A7)), boot a small positive score on promiscuity (see variables C2, B4)). In Table 16 small scores of 6-10% inclusive have been recorded by a '+ feature' or '- feature' symbol in parenthesis, e.g. boot = ('+ promiscuous'). The implication of these lower scores is possibly that while the feature is not a fundamental part of the meaning of the item in question, it is at least a widely-held connotation. 'Promiscuity' would thus be a likely attribute of a slut; certainly phrases such as a chaste slut have an odd ring and verge on the unacceptable. The existence of several of these small scores in Table 16 seems to support the argument (see above) that the distinction between

conceptual and connotative meanings is often blurred for Slang items; a quantitative rather than a qualitative distinction.

However, it was not certain whether low positive and low negative scores should be interpreted in the manner described above as genuinely '+ feature' or '- feature' or perhaps simply as 'o feature'. In Table 16 scores of 5% and less have been represented by 'o feature'. A '++ feature' or '- - feature' symbol was used to indicate a score of 45% or more.

A further element of arbitrariness enters the system in making a decision as to which scores will be classified as 'low' scores or 'high' scores, or 'o' scores if the above classification system is chosen, since the data currently being discussed are insufficient for the calculation of "degree of membership" (Lakoff, 1972, 1973 a and b; Zadeh 1973: see below).

6. Inspection of Table 16 reveals that 29 scores out of the total number of 204 appear in parenthesis. That is to say (leaving aside the 111 instances (over 50%) of 'o feature' which are also rather subjectively determined) that 14% of the data is ambiguous as to interpretation. This figure would clearly vary according to what arbitrary limit was chosen for "low scores" (see no. 5 above). Not only, therefore, is a rather large percentage of the

data uninterpretable, but also the quantity of uninterpretable data is dependent upon the researcher's arbitrary decision. Comparison of data from different sources therefore might reveal considerable differences in apparent interpretability. The assignment of "interpretable" as opposed to "uninterpretable" status, and hence the classification by components, is thus at least partly an artefact of the method used.

Given the number and nature of the difficulties experienced in this attempt to apply a taxonomic system of componential analysis to Slang items, it seems unlikely that such a system will help us to gain any valuable linguistic insight in this area. The problems inherent in fusing the variables of Table 12 to produce structures like Table 16 have been noted previously (Chapter 3, Discussion Section A.5).

In so far as the results in Table 16 mean anything at all, they still appear to indicate semantic distinctions between the clusters. While this observation cannot be relied on in any way to support the clustering results discussed in Chapter 3, it clearly is not incompatible with those results.

It should be emphasised that Table 16 is based on empirical data, each feature comprising some intuitively

appropriate combination of the properties shown in Table 12. Thus empirical semantic data are in this case manifestly intractable to componential analysis of a basically binary feature type. In most instances of its use, componential analysis is applied to Standard English items on a wholly intuitive basis.

However, Leech (1974) and Lakoff (1973a) also make use of 'basic statement' evidence, i.e. (intuitive) judgements about truth values, contradictions, tautologies and entailments contained in sentences constructed from his data. These were discussed very briefly above in connection with multiple taxonomy. It was decided that large-scale testing of this sort would not assist in the analysis of data of the sort considered in this thesis. Informal testing of a few subjects revealed that the inherent fuzziness of the items made it possible for subjects to imagine a suitable background for all test sentences: e.g.

25. "That tart is not sexually promiscuous"

is not generally considered to be a contradiction, because one can explain that she looks as though she is sexually promiscuous but the speaker happens to know that she isn't. Similarly, however

26. "That tart doesn't look sexually promiscuous"

isn't contradictory either - the speaker may happen to know that although she looks like a perfectly respectable woman she is in fact sexually promiscuous. Therefore a sentence such as

27. "That tart is sexually promiscuous"

is not tautological because it can be interpreted roughly as: she looks sexually promiscuous and she is.

Similarly, sentences such as

28. That doll is old

29. That wifie is young

tend to be interpreted in terms of behaviour appearance versus "fact". For instance: that woman who looks like a doll is (in fact) old; that woman who behaves like a wifie is (actually) young.

Even when one uses fuzzy features (see below) in this kind of test it is still difficult to construct genuinely contradictory statements: e.g.

30. "I don't think that scrubber looks unsavoury"

can still be considered a reasonable sentence:-

31. "I don't think that scrubber looks unsavoury, but I know she is".

In this Thesis, therefore, it was considered that intuitive evidence about 'basic statements' of the type used by Leech (1974) would not be of any assistance. It would be interesting to know whether, if data about the use of some set of Standard English items were collected from native speakers in the same way as for the set of Slang items in Table 16, the results would create similar difficulties for a subsequent componential analysis.

The difficulty of dealing with items like tart by componential analysis then, lies partly in deciding how many and which components should be used. It seems to be necessary to use logical statement type components as well as more basic atomic components in order to distinguish any of these Slang items from all other English terms for women. If one wishes to keep the components as generally applicable as possible (in line with the constraint suggested by Leech (see above)), then it is necessary to choose a single component which will cover as many as possible of the connotations which are commonly used. By this I mean that there often seems to be a set of connotations of which no particular element is an essential part of the meaning of the item, but from which at least one element must be applicable for the item to be used correctly. (See discussion of fuzzy sets, above). For example, tart might be analysed:-

1. '+ human';2,'- male'; 3. ('- youth'); 4. '+ S (evidence: X promiscuous)'.

In this analysis of tart I include only four features. It is not claimed that this is anything like a complete semantic analysis of that item; however, certain features have been omitted intentionally. Leech (1974) begins his diagram of analysis with '$\pm$ countable'; '$\pm$ concrete'; '1 penetrable (solid), 2 penetrable (liquid), 3 penetrable (gas)'. Although perfectly correct, it seems strange to list amongst the properties of e.g. woman '+ countable' '+ concrete', '+ 1 penetrable'. To deal with the last feature - '+ 1 penetrable' - this seems an odd quality to include because, of all the concrete items we talk about, the vast majority are solid and we only normally specify what 'penetrability' something has when it is not solid, i.e. is a liquid or a gas. Indeed as I am sure that a large section of the English speaking community would be unable to say e.g. whether a gas was concrete or not, these distinctions seem to be more relevant for scientific definition than for the way in which normal language operates. Again we seem to be dealing with the type of claim which Lyons (1968) argued against. Scientifically speaking the item tart is '+ countable' '+concrete' and '+ 1 penetrable' but it is doubtful whether these features have any relevance to actual language use. Since a non-

solid Tart is totally unimaginable then it does not seem relevant to actual language use to include this feature even implicitly by the entailment system of redundancy rules.

The first three components I have used mark tart only as a term for women. Feature 3 is put in parenthesis to indicate that I am not certain that this is an essential feature of the meaning of tart. The fourth component can be interpreted roughly as:- S = the speaker, thinks there is some evidence to suggest that X = the referent, is promiscuous. Component 4 therefore covers the possible types of 'evidence' discussed in Chapter 3 Discussion Section B.3, e.g. X goes around with one man or more; X dresses fashionably; X overdresses; X dresses like sexually promiscuous women are believed to dress; or X uses a lot of makeup.

Component 4 might therefore be termed a 'fuzzy feature'. Perhaps this system, i.e. the use of a component which is itself intrinsically fuzzy though in a controlled way, could provide an answer to the problem of analysing items with ineradicable fuzziness.

Fuzzy set theory has also been proposed in other areas of linguistic research, e.g. Tottie (1977) considers its application to the area of negation in English; Fudge (1978) considers it in relation to phonology; and Lakoff

(1972, 1973; Zadeh, 1973) investigate a range of its possible uses. Without considerable further data collection it is impossible to assign "degree of membership" of a fuzzy set to any of the fuzzy components proposed above; (if in a further test x out of N subjects regard a component as applicable to the item then $\frac{x}{N}$ is a reasonable empirical measure of this parameter).*

The evidence of the questionnaire set out in Table 12 indicates that only in 5% of cases (A9, A7, C8) was tart used without any of the criteria which I have classed together as feature 4. Of these cases 3% occur in A9 where there is an implication of drunkenness. I think that these occurrences are too few for it to be necessary to account for them in feature 4 but if in time tart came to be used more widely in a generally derogatory sense then it might be desirable to alter feature 4 to e.g. '+ S(evidence: X morals are unsavoury.) I.e. the speaker thinks that there is evidence that X's morals are unsavoury. It is important to avoid making explicit in the formula the speaker's disapproval of X, for this is by no means an explicit feature in the use of tart. For example, tart appeared in answer to A11 and A3 where it is not clear that the subjects were in any way hostile to the supposed referent of tart. It will be seen that feature 4 has not been formulated as '+ sexually promiscuous'.

* See Addenda

This is because the term can be used to refer to a woman perhaps seen only once by the speaker, e.g. at a bus stop. Part of the usefulness of some Slang terms seems to be that they enable the speaker to express his appraisal of someone without committing himself to stating that his opinion is an irrefutable fact. Thus the speaker who uses the term tart is stating his belief in the possibility of the referent being sexually promiscuous without indicating whether he has or has not any proof of his intuition.

Some Slang items may combine this type of component with a more straightforward, though still subjectively determined one. For example, a similar analysis of scrubber might be:-

1. '+ human'
2. '- male'
3. 'o youth'
4. '+ S(X appearance unsavoury)'
5. ('+ S(evidence: X morals unsavoury)')

where component 4 = "the speaker thinks that X's appearance is unsavoury" and component 5 = "the speaker thinks that there is evidence that X's morals are unsavoury". Whereas components 1, 2 and 3 are atomic (see above) 4 and 5 are approximations to propositional components. Thus component 4, though still subjectively determined, is in practice more likely to represent general opinion than is component 5.

The problem of the subjectivity of the norm for "orangeness" referred to earlier in this chapter, might be resolved by the introduction of a similar fuzzy propositional-type component, viz. '+ S(X is orange)'.

Prostitute, pro and prosty have a very much more restricted range of use than tart, occurring only in C2 and A5 (which together account for 83% of occurrences) then B4 and minimally in A2, A3 and A7 (see Table 12). In C2 and B4 the criterion given is "a girl known to have gone out with a large number of men", and pro etc. seem to be used to indicate that the subject is putting the least innocent interpretation on this. A possible analysis of pro might be:-

1. '+ human'
2. '- male'
3. 'o youth'
4. '+ S(X promiscuous)'

where component 4 = the speaker thinks that X is promiscous. The similar component for Standard English prostitute would be:-

4. '+ promiscuous'.

In A5 pro is differentiated from tart in the same way, i.e.

32. ... she looked a right tart = she looked as though

she might have been sexually promiscuous/a prostitute

33. ... she looked a right pro = she looked as though she was sexually promiscuous/a prostitute

where again the use of pro indicates a 'worst possible' interpretation.

It is not clear whether pro is being used in the above strict sense in A2 and A3 or in an extended manner as in A7, more akin to the use of tart. (It is interesting to note that whereas pro in C2 and B4 seems to express the least innocent interpretation, flirt in C2 and B4 seems to express the neutral to most innocent interpretation. This hypothesis is backed up by the absence of any occurrence of flirt in answer to A5).

Flirt could perhaps be analysed as follows:-

1. '+ human'
2. '- male'
3. 'o youth'
4. '+ S(evidence: X promiscuous)'

In order to minimise the number of components in the interests of economy it is possible to utilise the same fuzzy feature for flirt as for tart viz. S(evidence:

X promiscuous). Unfortunately this attempt at economy conceals the fact that the type of 'evidence' used to designate a woman flirt is chiefly evidence of behaviour whereas that used to designate a woman tart is chiefly evidence of appearance (see Table 12).

Loss of information is unavoidable in any attempt to generalise. However, the problem is in deciding how much information loss is tolerable in the interests of a manageable system of semantic analysis. It seems to me that while the generalizations possible through the use of 'fuzzy feature' componential analysis might be useful in discussing the types of semantic properties found in the whole field of Slang terms for women, the detailed semantic analysis of individual items is best left in a form comparable to that in which it appears in Table 12. I.e. Fuzzy propositional-type features may be very useful for giving a rough indication of the types of components which occur in a particular lexical field (see Chapter 3, Discussion B2) and for comparisons and contrasts of two or more lexical fields.* If, however, one wishes to compare or contrast the meanings of two or more single items within one lexical field then the fuzzy components as well as the atomic components are too crude to show the fine distinctive semantic detail for each item.* The loss of information through generalisation in the latter case will be too

* See Addenda

great to allow meaningful comparison and contrast.* Therefore in a situation where on wishes to compare two or more individual items it is essential to be able to compare each item's scores over as large a range of variables as is practicable. In the case of the data in this thesis such comparison requires one to consider the information presented in Table 12, not the generalised information of Table 16.

SUMMARY

1. The evidence of the questionnaire did not support the view that Slang is merely a stylistic variant of Standard English.

2. The use of a Slang item as opposed to its supposed Standard English equivalent may result in a difference of affective meaning although it does not necessarily do so.

3. It was noted that Slang items can carry collocative meaning although it was difficult to separate the field of collocative meaning from the area normally covered by selectional restrictions.

4. The difficulty of distinguishing between conceptual and connotative meaning was shown to be significant

* See Addenda

both for Slang items and for Standard English items both diachronically and synchronically.

5. It was considered impractical to deal with all differences between Slang items as differences of connotative meaning rather than of conceptual meaning.

6. Some extensions of and some alternatives to a binary componential analysis were evaluated, particularly with reference to their application to Slang items.

7. A modification of a binary taxonomic system of componential analysis was applied to the Slang data, and the results proved to be extremely difficult to interpret.

8. The basic problems arising from a componential analysis procedure were considered in terms of the dilemma: the need to generalise in order to have a system of manageable size; versus the unavoidable loss of information caused by such generalisation.

9. It was considered that if an economy restriction were applied to components in a semantic analysis then there would be many items in Standard English as well as in Slang which could not be uniquely characterised.

10. It was argued that for a large number of items both

Slang and Standard English, there is an inescapable element of fuzziness in the meaning.

11. This fuzziness is taken to imply that there exists a set of connotations at least one element of which forms part of the conceptual meaning of the item in a given instance of its use. This formulation has a precedent in the mathematical theory of fuzzy sets.

12. A proposal was put forward for the inclusion of 'fuzzy components' in componential analysis to deal with items with irreducible fuzziness.

CONCLUSION

The research described in this thesis has brought to light a number of socio-linguistic as well as semantic features of Slang which have hitherto either been intuitively assumed to be true or have not been recognised. Very little previous work has based a statement of the characteristics of Slang on empirical data.

Analysis of the experimental data has shown that the vocabulary of Slang is probably considerably more extensive than was previously believed. From the evidence collected for this thesis it could be seen that Slang shows many of the same socio-linguistic characteristics as does Standard English, i.e. certain differences of Slang usage can be seen to correlate with the age, sex and social class of the informant. These differences of usage are not normally a result of certain items being unfamiliar to certain groups of informants. This evidence suggested a need for revision of the normally held views as to the position of Slang in the English Language, and this led to the suggestion of a new taxonomy of English register namely: Standard English, Colloquial English, Slang, Dialect, Jargon, Shop and Cant, in which the three main national registers - Standard English, Colloquial English and Slang were distinguished in terms of syntax, vocabulary, social situation and the extent of use.

Many of the statements traditionally made about Slang concern its 'acceptability' or lack of it, and differences of usage might have been explained in terms of differences of acceptability rating. However, the acceptability test results indicated that such correlations could but did not always exist. It became evident that different Slang items can have widely different acceptability ratings and that therefore to describe, or attempt to define, Slang as unacceptable English is meaningless.

The semantic analysis of the data presented a number of problems, most of which were overcome by the use of a partitioning cluster analysis technique. This procedure was able to distinguish 10 stable clusters in the data which clusters were consistent with the results of the single-context synonymity test and with linguistic intuitions. Some form of cluster analysis procedure could have great value in linguistic research of this type because of its ability to produce objective classification provided that great care is taken to comply with the restrictions on data input. In the light of the difficulties encountered in the semantic analysis attempted in Chapter 4 this advantage of objectivity would appear to give great importance to the use of some such procedures in this type of analysis.

In Chapter 4 it became apparent that Slang had

definite similarities with Standard English in semantic as well as socio-linguistic terms. In semantic terms it was clear that Slang could no longer be considered as merely a stylistic variant of Standard English. The problems of distinguishing between some proposed categories of meaning proved to be insurmountable except in an ad hoc fashion. Parallels could be drawn between the problems encountered in the semantic analysis of Standard English and of Slang items. The attempt to apply a modified binary taxonomic system of componential analysis to Slang data was very unsatisfactory and led one to question whether since this system was so clearly deficient in its ability to cope with empirical data for Slang, it would also prove to be deficient if it was applied to empirical data for Standard English. The difficulty of loss of information through generalization is one which can only be tackled in one of two ways: either by compromise which would entail a necessarily less than ideal result, or by the use of a dual tier system which could generalise from its analysis but which retains the basic information for the occasions when detailed analysis of uniquely characterised items is required. Whichever system is adopted, in order to make any but trivial generalizations about Slang items, some type of 'fuzzy component' is essential.

Finally then, the evidence of this thesis supports a greater use of empirical data by linguists, rather than a reliance solely on intuitions about language. It would appear that the use of questionnaires to gather such data, while far from ideal, is in practice considerably more reliable than might have been supposed. In this proposed move away from the "rationalist" approach to language study to a more "empiricist" approach it would appear that cluster analysis techniques could greatly assist researchers to identify objective semantic groupings in experimental data. The data items themselves in many cases will require to be analysed with the use of 'fuzzy components' if any generalizations other than the most trival are to be made.

The fact that at least some of the Slang items dealt with in this thesis proved to be ineradicably fuzzy, made some methods of traditional semantic analysis impracticable. For instance, analyticity and contradiction, and for that matter many other logical relationships, are unlikely to be generally agreed to be properties of sentences involving fuzzy concepts. The problem arises because instead of being able to construct a test in which one simply asks the subjects to classify the statements given as analytic, contradictory etc., one has to attempt to constrain the subjects by asking e.g.

for their immediate response classification; or to classify the statements without recourse to imaginative or impressionistic interpretation. In fact one would have to ask the subjects to consider the statements in a totally artificial way - devoid of context. Even if it could be demonstrated that such an artificial exercise had relevance for normal language use, it is virtually impossible to determine whether the subjects have in fact managed to exclude all second thoughts, imaginative interpretation etc. in making their judgements. For these reasons, it was felt that tests to establish the status of Slang items in terms of the traditional concepts of analyticity and contradiction would not add interpretable evidence to the analysis already carried out.

Notwithstanding this difficulty, it is in two areas explored in this thesis: the greater use of computer techniques, in particular of cluster analysis procedures; and the further development of a system including 'fuzzy components', that I think semanticists could most increase insight into many areas of language in the next few years.

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A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX ONE: QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of a study on how people use slang . I would be grateful if you would fill it in with the words which YOU would actually USE in these situations.

Please delete as appropriate: Age:- Under 20/20-29/
30-44/45 or over

Male/Female

A. Please fill in the blanks in the following sentences with the words or phrases you would use. If none of the words in the list below is one which you would use, please fill in your own choice. Any word may be used more than once or not at all.

1. Three boys were playing football outside No. 5 when the ------ who lives there came out. She shook her fist at them and told them to clear off.

1 _____

2. You wouldn't believe it to look at her now, but she used to get all dressed up every single evening. What a ------ she was!

2 _____

3. Is that the ------ he picked up at the dance last Friday?

3 _____

4. That crook was quite a charmer. Even when the police were on to him you never saw him without his ------.

4 _____

5. I looked at the girl standing outside the pub. With her false eye-lashes, fishnet tights and mini-skirt she looked a right ------.

5 _____

6. I heard them arguing again this morning . His wife is a real ------. She gets at him for everything.

6 _____

7. That's a smashing looking ------ leaning against the shop window. Do you know her?

7 _____

8. The ------ sighed and shuffled up the road with her shopping.

8 _____

9. Two teenage ------ were staggering along the pavement giggling helplessly.

9 _____

10. She has always been (a) ------. She kept her hair very short, played with the boys, and was never interested in the things other girls do.

10 _____

11. Was that your ------ I saw you with last night?

11 _____

12. Jim said I'd ruined it, but he ------ it first.

12 _____

13. We were in the policeman's garden stealing the apples. There were only two apples left on the tree when the door opened and we had to ------.

13 _____

14. The party was alright till Bob arrived. You know what a bore he is, so I decided to ------.

14 _____

15. Dad can't stand anyone talking while the football's on. he tells you to ------ if you even say "hello".

15 _____

bitch	bit of stuff	slag	knackered
tart	bird	cow	cocked it up
doll	slut	dame	blew
old bag	woman	besom	shift
floosy	scollop	bint	go
girl	tomboy	old dear	scoot
lumber	scrubber	moll	scarper
nag	wee hairy	tubby	split
prostitute	chick	trollop	shut up
			belt up

OR YOUR OWN CHOICE

B. Please fill in the word or phrase which you would use to describe the SPEAKER of the following excerpts. If none of the words in the list below is one which you would use, please fill in your own choice. Any word may be used more than once or not at all.

1. "I've told you boys hundreds of times not to lean your bikes against my hedge".

_____

2. (In a car, comforting her companion whom she imagines has a headache)
"..... in the meantime I shan't tease you by talking to you. Are you sure you're warm enough? Let me give you my shawl to put round your head! Jurby will hold your hat, or I will. Now, where did I put my smelling salts? They should be in my handbag, for I always put them in there when I go on a journey, because .... but they don't seem to be - Oh yes, here they are! They had slipped down to the bottom and were under my handkerchief, though goodness knows how they got under it, for I distinctly recall putting them on top of everything else so that ...."

_____

3. "I don't care how he gets his money so long as he gets plenty of it and I get to spend it."

_____

4. "What happened to Bob? Well, last time he took me out I got one measly half of shandy. So I said I thought I'd rather go back to his little brother - or maybe Tim or Derek, or even Phil. You should have seen him, he went as red as a tomato."

chatterbox	pain in the neck	old bag
nag	gold-digger	bitch
floosy	cow	bird

C. Please fill in the words or phrases which you would use to mean 1-12. If none of the words in the list in section A is one which you would use, please fill in your own choice. Any word may be used more than once or not at all.

1. a girl that a boy goes steady with _____
2. a girl known to have gone out with a large number of men _____
3. a bad tempered girl _____
4. a middle aged/old woman _____
5. a girl who dresses fashionably _____
6. a gangster's/crook's girl friend _____
7. a bad tempered elderly woman _____
8. a young woman _____
9. a girl who uses a great deal of makeup _____

10. a sharp tempered girl _____

11. a dirty, untidy woman _____

12. a girl who is small and round _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

APPENDIX TWO: ACCEPTABILITY TEST

This questionnaire is part of a study on slang. I would be grateful if you would mark with a cross on the lines below how acceptable or unacceptable you find each word used in the sentences. The lines represent a range of acceptability from totally unacceptable (offensive/ disgusting) to totally acceptable (could be heard anywhere). It does not matter whether or not you would ever use any of these words; please mark the scale to show how acceptable you would find them if <u>someone else you did not know well</u> used them in that sentence.

For example, if you think that <u>Girl</u> is fully acceptable but <u>Bitch</u> is less so, then you might mark the lines like this:-

That (Girl) / (Bitch) is always nagging.

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Girl	.	:	.	X
Bitch	.	.	X	.

- -

1. Will you (Shut Up / Belt Up / Fuck Off / Bugger Off) - I'm trying to listen to the football.

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Shut Up	.	.	.	.
Belt Up	.	.	.	.
Fuck Off	.	.	.	.
Bugger Off	.	.	.	.

2. I might have known he'd (Bugger It (up)) / (Fuck It Up) / (Muck It Up) if I lent it to him.

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Bugger It Up	.	.	.	.
Fuck It Up	.	.	.	.
Muck It Up	.	.	.	.

3. That's a smashing looking (Bird) / (Girl) / (Doll) / (Bit of Stuff) over there.

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Bird	.	.	.	.
Girl	.	.	.	.
Doll	.	.	.	.
Bit of Stuff.	.	.	.	.

4. Is that John's (Bird / Girl / Bit of Stuff / Girlfriend) ?

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Bird				
Girl				
Bit of Stuff				
Girlfriend				

5. She's always moaning. She's a real (Bitch / Cow / Pain in the Neck / Pain in the Arse)

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Bitch				
Cow				
Pain in the Neck				
Pain in the Arse				

6. I don't think she's had a wash since she fell out of the Ark. What a (Slut / Slag / Scrubber).

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Slut				

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Slag	.	.	.	.
Scrubber	.	.	.	.

(Doll)
(Slut)
7. With her false eye-lashes, fishnet tights and (Slag)
mini-skirt she looked a right (Whore)
(Ride)
(Bit of Stuff)
(Scrubber)

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Doll	.	.	.	.
Slut	.	.	.	.
Slag	.	.	.	.
Whore	.	.	.	.
Ride	.	.	.	.
Bit of Stuff	.	.	.	.
Scrubber	.	.	.	.

(Girl)
(Slut)
(Whore)
8. That's the sixth man I've seen that (Ride) with this week.
(Cow)
(Bitch)

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Girl	.	.	.	:

	Totally Unacceptable	Not Very Acceptable	Fairly Acceptable	Totally Acceptable
Slut	.	.	.	.
Whore	.	.	.	.
Ride	.	.	.	.
Cow	.	.	.	.
Bitch	.	.	.	.

Please tick which age group and sex you belong to: Male/Female

Under 20/20-29/30-44/45 or over

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

APPENDIX THREE: TABLES

1.A1

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	
Woman	7	11	5	4	27	17	15	9	3	44	71
Old Bag	24	18	3	2	47[+1]	35	14	1	1	51	99
Old Dear	3	3	3	1	10	8	1	1	-	10	20
Cow (Old)	6	2	2	-	10	6	-	1	-	7	17
Bitch (Old)	3	1	2	2	8	4	-	-	-	4	12
Wifie (Old)	2	2	1	-	5	3	1	1	-	5	10
Nag (Old)	2	4	1	1	8	1	-	1	-	2	10
MISCELLANEOUS 31	11	15	7	3	36[+3]	5	6	5	-	16	55
38	58	56	24	13	151[+4]	79	37	19	4	139	294

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
	USED BY:-	p< :-	USE	p< :-
Woman	Females	.05	-	-
Old Bag	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05
MISCELLANEOUS	Males	.05	-	-

TABLE 1.A2

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Tart	30	10	5	-	45	50	11	1	1	63	108
Doll/Dolly	4	9	6	1	20^{+2}	5	7	2	1	15	37
Sight	2	2	-	-	4	3	4	-	-	7	11
MISCELLANEOUS 55	24	29	13	13	79^{+2}	24	16	14	3	57	138
58	60	50	24	14	148^{+4}	82	38	17	5	142	294

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES USED BY:-	p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES USE	p <:-
Tart	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.001
Doll/Dolly	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05
MISCELLANEOUS	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05

TABLE 1.A3

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Bird	17	14	9	3	43	15	9	4	-	28	71
Girl	7	5	1	2	15	23	7	4	3	37	52
Bit of Stuff	5	3	2	1	11[+1]	4	3	-	-	7	19
Tart	2	-	2	3	7	8	2	-	-	10	17
Lumber	1	2	3	1	7	1	4	1	-	6	13
Female	3	1	-	-	4	5	3	-	-	8	12
MISCELLANEOUS 46	23	27	7	4	61[+3]	30	9	9	2	50	114
54	58	52	24	14	148[+4]	86	37	18	5	146	298

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES USED BY:-	p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES USE	p <:-
Girl	Females	.01	-	-

TABLE 1.A4

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	
Bird	18	5	7	-	30	27	4	5	1	37	67
----	7	4	1	1	13	13	3	1	-	17	30
Bit of Stuff	7	5	-	-	12	5	3	-	-	8	20
Moll	-	5	2	3	10	2	1	5	2	10	20
Girl	2	4	-	1	7^{+1}	6	4	1	-	11	19
Chick	3	1	1	1	6	5	2	-	-	7	13
Woman	2	3	-	-	5	4	3	1	-	8	13
Girlfriend	3	1	-	-	4	5	2	-	-	7	11
Dame	-	1	1	2	4	4	1	-	1	6	10
MISCELLANEOUS 58	14	21	10	6	51^{+4}	20	10	10	-	40	95
67	56	50	22	14	142^{+5}	91	33	23	4	151	298

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES USED BY:-	$p <$:-	AGE DIFFERENCES USE	$p <$:-
Bird	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05
Moll	-	-	Increased with increased age	.001

TABLE 1.A5

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	⩾45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	⩾45	TOTAL	
Tart	31	15	9	2	57[+1]	46	17	5	4	72	130
Slut	5	3	-	-	8	8	7	1	-	16	24
Cow	3	7	-	2	12	6	1	1	-	8	20
Scrubber	3	6	2	-	11[+1]	3	3	1	-	7	19
Whore	3	4	3	-	10	3	4	-	-	7	17
Prostitute/Pro	2	2	1	2	7	5	2	-	-	7	14
MISCELLANEOUS 39	14	15	9	8	46	13	4	10	1	28	74
45	61	52	24	14	151[+2]	84	38	18	5	145	298

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
MISCELLANEOUS	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05

TABLE 1.A6

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	
Nag (Old)	20	19	7	8	54	37	14	8	4	63	117
Bitch	17	8	9	2	36[+1]	21	9	3	-	33	70
Cow	7	5	2	-	14	12	3	1	-	16	30
Nark	1	4	1	4	10	1	4	1	-	6	16
MISCELLANEOUS 41	13	18	9	4	44[+4]	15	11	6	2	34	82
45	58	54	28	18	158[+5]	86	41	19	6	152	315

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES USED BY:-	p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES USE	p <:-
Nark	-	-	Increased with increased age	.01

TABLE 1.A7

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Bird	16	16	12	3	47[+3]	26	10	3	-	39	89
Girl	6	3	2	1	12	14	14	4	3	35	47
Bit of Stuff	10	13	3	2	28	11	2	2	1	16	44
Bit/Piece of ...	5	6	1	-	12	6	2	6	-	14	26
Chick	4	1	-	1	6	6	1	2	-	9	15
Doll/Dolly Bird	1	2	2	3	8	2	2	-	1	5	13
Female	3	-	-	-	3	7	2	-	-	9	12
MISCELLANEOUS 39	10	11	5	3	29	12	5	1	-	18	47
46	55	52	25	13	145[+3]	84	38	18	5	145	293

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES USED BY:-	p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES USE	p <:-
Doll	-	-	Increased with increased age	.01
Girl	Female	.005	-	-

TABLE 1.A8

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	
Old Dear	14	17	11	7	49^{+2}	24	14	5	2	45	96
Old Woman	13	17	6	1	37^{+1}	21	15	2	3	41	80
Old Bag	12	3	-	3	18	8	2	1	-	11	29
Old Wifie	5	2	1	-	8	9	1	3	-	13	21
Old Lady	-	-	1	-	1	5	3	1	-	9	10
MISCELLANEOUS 30	13	12	7	2	34	16	2	5	-	23	57
35	57	51	26	13	147^{+4}	83	37	17	5	142	293

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
Old Bag	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05
Old Lady	Female	.05	-	-

TABLE 1.A9

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	
Girls	19	16	11	2	48	39	18	9	3	69	117
Birds	6	3	2	-	11	2	3	3	-	8	19
Tarts	5	-	1	2	8	5	1	-	-	6	14
Scrubbers	1	3	2	-	6	3	1	-	-	4	10
MISCELLANEOUS 71	26	27	8	8	69^{+4}	39	14	6	2	61	134
75	57	49	24	12	142^{+4}	88	37	18	5	148	294

NO STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT RESULTS

TABLE 1.A10

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Tomboy	50	37	20	11	118	72	29	24	5	130	248
MISCELLANEOUS 28	8	16	5	2	31	11	1	2	-	14	45
29	58	53	25	13	149	83	30	26	5	144	293

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
MISCELLANEOUS	Males	.05	-	-

TABLE 1.A11

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Bird	16	13	9	-	38	19	6	4	1	30	68
Girlfriend	6	4	-	1	11[+1]	13	10	1	1	25	37
Girl	6	3	1	2	12	11	3	6	2	22	34
Bit of Stuff	3	4	3	1	11	3	4	-	-	7	18
Wife	-	7	1	1	9	-	4	2	1	7	16
Woman	-	4	3	-	7	2	5	-	-	7	14
Chick	6	-	1	1	8	4	-	-	-	4	12
MISCELLANEOUS 51	21	15	6	9	51[+3]	34	8	5	1	48	102
58	58	50	24	15	147[+4]	86	40	18	6	150	301

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES USED BY:-	p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES USE	p <:-
Wife	-	-	Increased with increased age	.005
Woman	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05
Chick	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05
Girlfriend	Female	.05	-	-

TABLE 1.A12

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	
Knackered	12	13	6	2	33[+1]	18	8	3	-	29	63
Blew	6	5	1	2	14	16	8	2	1	27	41
Buggered	6	4	6	1	17	5	2	2	1	10	27
Cocked It Up	4	3	9	1	17	4	5	-	1	10	27
Fucked It Up	4	10	1	-	15[+1]	1	-	1	-	2	18
-----	6	1	-	1	8	7	-	2	-	9	17
Mucked It Up	1	-	-	1	2	5	2	4	-	11	13
MISCELLANEOUS 43	18	17	3	5	43[+3]	26	13	4	-	43	89
50	57	53	26	13	149[+5]	82	36	18	3	141	195

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
Cocked It Up	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05
Blew	Female	.05	-	-

TABLE 1.A13

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Scarper	16	13	12	6	47^{+1}	38	18	17	2	75	123
Run (for it/off)	3	6	1	-	10^{+1}	15	3	1	1	20	31
Split	10	5	2	-	17	7	3	1	-	11	28
Scram	-	3	1	-	4	4	1	1	-	6	10
MISCELLANEOUS 40	30	27	9	7	73^{+2}	21	9	3	-	33	108
44	59	54	25	13	151^{+4}	85	34	23	3	145	300

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES USED BY:-	p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES USE	p <:-
Scarper	Females	.05	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS	Males	.005	-	-

TABLE 1.A14

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Go (Home)	9	8	7	1	25	16	13	3	-	32	57
Split	10	15	3	-	28	14	10	4	-	28	56
Leave	8	4	2	-	14	20	8	-	-	28	42
Piss Off	7	4	1	1	13	7	-	-	-	7	20
Scoot	4	-	-	2	6^{+2}	3	1	-	-	4	12
Bugger Off	3	1	1	1	6	2	3	-	-	5	11
Shift	-	1	3	1	5	1	4	-	1	6	11
MISCELLANEOUS 51	20	17	9	6	52^{+2}	15	5	9	4	33	87
58	61	50	26	12	149^{+4}	78	44	16	5	143	296

SEX DIFFERENCES			AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p< :-
Split	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05
Shift	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05
Leave	Female	.05	-	-

TABLE 1.A15

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Shut Up	25	13	9	2	49^{+3}	44	19	12	4	79	131
Belt Up	9	9	6	7	31	19	15	3	1	38	69
Fuck/F. Off	3	6	1	-	10	6	-	1	-	7	17
Shut It	2	7	1	-	10	3	-	-	-	3	13
Be Quiet	-	1	1	1	3	2	3	2	-	7	10
MISCELLANEOUS 35	18	17	7	3	45^{+1}	9	1	1	-	11	57
40	57	53	25	13	148^{+4}	83	38	19	5	145	297

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
Shut Up	Females	.05	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS	Males	.001	-	-

TABLE 1.B1

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Old Bag	13	12	4	4	33^{+1}	24	11	4	1	40	74
Nag (Old)	15	8	5	3	31	19	13	4	2	38	69
Pain (in the ...)	4	4	5	1	14^{+1}	11	2	2	-	15	30
Cow (Old)	8	2	2	-	12	5	1	-	-	6	18
Moan (Old)	-	3	-	-	3	6	2	-	-	8	11
MISCELLANEOUS 62	20	24	10	5	59^{+3}	20	9	8	1	38	100
67	60	53	26	13	152^{+5}	85	38	18	4	145	302

NO STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT RESULTS

TABLE 1.B2

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	
Pain in the Neck	13	12	4	-	29^{+1}	27	10	3	1	41	71
Pain in the Arse	8	10	2	-	20	3	4	-	-	7	27
Pain (in the ...)	3	1	1	-	5	3	3	1	-	7	12
Chatterbox	8	6	6	5	25^{+1}	18	5	3	1	27	53
Fuss(pot)/Fusser	6	1	-	4	11	3	5	4	3	15	26
Nag (Old)	5	3	-	-	8^{+1}	4	1	-	-	5	14
---	4	1	-	-	5	7	-	-	-	7	12
MISCELLANEOUS 70	14	24	12	5	55^{+2}	20	12	6	1	39	96
77	61	58	25	14	158^{+5}	85	40	17	6	148	311

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
Pain in the Arse	Males	.05	-	-
Fuss(pot)/Fusser	-	-	Increased with increased age	.005
-----	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05

TABLE 1.B3

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Gold-digger(ing)	8	17	7	7	39[+2]	18	12	9	4	43	84
Bitch	13	7	2	1	23	17	8	1	-	26	49
Cow	4	3	4	1	12	11	1	-	-	12	24
Money-grabber	5	5	2	-	12	4	4	3	-	11	23
Greedy	4	2	-	-	6	8	1	-	-	9	15
---	4	1	2	-	7	3	2	-	-	5	12
MISCELLANEOUS 69	23	18	10	4	55[+2]	27	15	6	1	49	106
75	61	53	27	13	154[+4]	88	43	19	5	155	313

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
Gold-digger	-	-	Increased with increased age	.01

TABLE 1.B4

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	
Bitch(y)	17	13	8	3	41[+1]	30	16	6	2	54	96
Cow	1	9	2	1	13	14	8	1	-	23	36
----	5	3	1	1	10	1	3	2	1	7	17
Tart	4	-	-	-	4	7	1	-	-	8	12
MISCELLANEOUS 75	29	26	14	7	76[+3]	31	10	9	2	52	131
79	56	51	25	12	144[+4]	83	38	18	5	144	292

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES USED BY:-	p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES USE	p <:-
Tart	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05

TABLE 1.C1

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Girlfriend	14	9	7	3	33^{+1}	42	15	14	3	74	108
Bird	14	15	7	4	40	6	5	1	1	13	53
(Going) Steady	3	4	2	2	11^{+1}	5	3	4	-	12	24
----	5	-	2	1	8^{+1}	7	-	-	-	7	16
Girl	1	2	1	-	4^{+1}	2	3	2	-	7	12
MISCELLANEOUS 48	18	25	6	3	52^{+1}	22	10	3	1	36	89
53	55	55	25	13	148^{+5}	84	36	24	5	149	302

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
Girlfriend	Females	.005	-	-
Bird	Males	.001	-	-

TABLE 1.C2

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Tart	16	6	5	1	28	13	5	-	3	21	49
Cow	3	7	1	2	13	16	3	1	-	20	33
Flirt	2	2	1	2	7	13	6	1	-	20	27
Pro(stitute)	9	-	2	-	11[+1]	5	2	1	-	8	20
Whore	4	5	1	-	10	2	4	-	-	6	16
Slut	5	1	-	-	6	6	1	-	-	7	13
Bicycle/Bike	1	6	1	-	8	-	1	1	1	3	11
Slag	5	-	-	-	5	4	1	1	-	6	11
Scrubber	3	4	3	-	10	-	1	-	-	1	11
MISCELLANEOUS 66	13	23	13	9	58[+4]	27	15	14	1	57	119
75	61	54	27	14	156[+5]	86	39	19	5	149	310

(continued)

TABLE 1.C2 (continued)

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p < :-	USE	p < :-
Cow	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05
Slut	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05
Bike	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05
MISCELLANEOUS	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05
Flirt	Females	.05	-	-
Scrubber	Males	.05	-	-

TABLE 1.C3

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Bitch(y)	37	27	12	8	84[+1]	39	14	3	3	59	144
Cow	6	5	2	-	13	12	4	1	-	17	30
----	3	2	-	-	5[+1]	9	3	1	-	13	19
Nag	-	1	2	-	3	5	4	1	-	10	13
MISCELLANEOUS 63	13	17	9	6	45[+2]	18	16	13	2	49	96
67	59	52	25	14	150[+4]	83	41	19	5	148	302

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES USED BY:-	p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES USE	p< :-
MISCELLANEOUS	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05

TABLE 1.C4

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Old Dear	10	11	9	2	32[+1]	14	11	5	-	30	63
(Old) Bag	13	6	1	3	23	18	8	2	1	29	52
(Old) Woman	6	7	1	2	16	17	5	2	1	25	41
(Old) Wifie	5	1	2	-	8	12	3	2	-	17	25
----	8	4	-	-	12[+1]	5	2	1	-	8	21
Old Lady	-	2	2	-	4	2	2	2	1	7	11
MISCELLANEOUS 43	17	22	10	6	55[+2]	17	4	6	2	29	86
49	59	53	25	13	150[+4]	85	35	20	5	145	299

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
MISCELLANEOUS	Male	.05	-	-

TABLE 1.C5

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Trendy	-	14	1	-	15^{+1}	9	11	1	-	21	37
Doll/Dolly Bird	4	4	6	4	18^{+1}	5	4	2	2	13	32
----	10	3	-	-	13^{+1}	12	2	3	-	17	31
Tart	11	3	-	-	14	16	1	-	-	17	31
Smart(ie Pants)	-	4	4	2	10	3	4	2	1	10	20
Chick	2	3	3	1	9	3	4	2	1	10	19
Girl	3	-	1	-	4	7	2	2	-	11	15
MISCELLANEOUS 64	27	21	13	5	66^{+2}	29	11	6	2	48	116
71	57	52	28	12	149^{+5}	84	39	18	6	147	301

(continued)

TABLE 1.C5 (continued)

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
Trendy	-	-	Used by 20-29 group	.001
Doll/Dolly Bird	-	-	Increased with increased age	.005
-----	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05
Tart	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.001
Smart(ie Pants)	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05

TABLE 1.C6

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Moll	18	35	15	8	76	14	19	19	4	56	132
----	12	-	2	2	16	9	4	1	1	15	31
Bird	3	3	4	-	10	13	1	1	-	15	25
Chick	2	-	1	-	3	7	1	-	-	8	11
Dame	4	-	1	1	6	3	2	-	-	5	11
Girlfriend	2	-	-	-	2	6	2	-	-	8	10
MISCELLANEOUS 44	21	17	10	3	51	31	10	1	-	42	93
50	62	55	33	14	164	83	39	22	5	149	313

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES USED BY:-	p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES USE	p <:-
Moll	-	-	Increased with increased age	.005

TABLE 1.C7

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
(Old) Bag	21	18	3	2	44	47	14	5	1	67	111
(Old) Nag	10	5	2	2	19^{+1}	6	6	-	-	12	32
(Old) Cow	7	3	3	-	13	8	1	-	1	10	23
(Old) Bitch	3	5	3	1	12^{+1}	3	1	-	1	5	18
(Old) Hag	4	4	-	1	9	5	1	1	1	8	17
-----	4	1	-	-	5^{+1}	6	1	2	1	9	15
MISCELLANEOUS 42	11	14	9	8	42^{+1}	8	17	10	1	36	79
48	60	50	20	14	144^{+4}	83	41	18	5	147	295

	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
(Old) Bag	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05
MISCELLANEOUS	-	-	Increased with increased age	.001

TABLE 1.C8

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Girl	9	7	3	2	21 +1	21	15	7	3	46	68
Bird	5	13	11	1	30 +1	7	6	2	-	15	46
(Young) Woman	8	1	-	1	10 +1	15	4	-	1	20	31
-----	6	3	-	-	9 +1	10	-	-	-	10	20
Chick	4	3	4	1	12	4	1	1	1	7	19
Female	2	5	-	-	7	9	2	-	-	11	18
Lass(ie)	4	2	-	1	7	2	1	2	1	6	13
MISCELLANEOUS 37	21	18	5	4	48	19	7	5	-	31	79
44	59	52	23	10	144 +4	87	36	17	6	146	294

SEX DIFFERENCES

ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-
Bird	Males	.05
Woman	-	-
-----	-	-
Girl	Females	.01

AGE DIFFERENCES

USE	p <:-
Used by 20-44 groups	.01
Decreased with increased age	.05
Decreased with increased age	.05
-	-

TABLE 1.C9

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	
Tart(y)	35	17	11	3	66^{+1}	52	20	5	2	79	146
-----	3	2	1	-	6^{+1}	7	1	1	1	10	17
Doll/Dolly Bird	3	3	-	2	8^{+1}	3	2	2	-	7	16
Trollop	1	-	1	2	4	3	-	4	1	8	12
MISCELLANEOUS 62	16	31	13	6	66^{+1}	17	15	9	-	41	108
66	58	53	26	13	150^{+4}	82	38	21	4	145	299

SEX DIFFERENCES

ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:.
Trollop	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS	Males	.05

AGE DIFFERENCES

USE	p <:-
Increased with increased age	.005
Used by 20-44 groups	.005

TABLE 1.C10

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Bitch(y)	24	22	8	3	57^{+1}	40	15	6	1	62	120
-----	8	3	1	1	13^{+1}	10	4	3	-	17	31
Cow	5	4	1	-	10	4	4	1	-	9	19
MISCELLANEOUS 61	21	28	14	8	71^{+3}	29	16	8	3	56	130
64	58	57	24	12	151^{+5}	83	39	18	4	144	300

NO STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT RESULTS

TABLE 1.C11

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	≥45	TOTAL	
Slut	8	11	8	7	34	30	24	11	5	70	104
Scrubber	7	2	6	-	15	7	2	-	-	9	24
Slag (Heap)	4	8	4	-	16	3	1	1	-	5	21
Tramp	8	2	-	-	10[+1]	6	2	-	-	8	19
Scruff(y)	5	2	-	-	7	7	1	-	-	8	15
(Old) Bag	6	3	-	1	10	2	-	-	-	2	12
Trollop	-	3	1	3	7	2	1	-	-	3	10
MISCELLANEOUS 41	20	19	8	3	50[+2]	19	6	6	-	31	83
48	58	50	27	14	149[+3]	76	37	18	5	136	288

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES	
	USED BY:-	p <:-	USE	p <:-
Slut	Females	.001	-	-
Slag	Males	.05	-	-
Tramp	-	-	Decreased with increased age	.05
Trollop	-	-	Increased with increased age	.05

TABLE 1.C12

ITEM	MALE					FEMALE					TOTAL
	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	<20	20-29	30-44	>45	TOTAL	
Tubby/Tub	6	5	8	9	28[+1]	26	14	3	2	45	74
Fat	24	13	-	-	37	19	2	-	-	21	58
Dumpy	1	5	3	1	10	5	5	3	-	13	23
-----	6	2	1	-	9[+1]	5	1	2	-	8	18
Fatso/Fatty	7	1	-	-	8	6	1	-	-	7	15
Barrel (Harold the)	-	5	1	-	6	3	1	-	-	4	10
Plump (a bit)	-	4	-	-	4	5	3	1	-	9	13
MISCELLANEOUS 68	32	24	13	4	73[+3]	28	12	10	3	53	129
74	76	59	26	14	175[+5]	97	39	19	5	160	340

SEX DIFFERENCES

ITEM	USED BY:-	p <:-
Tub/Tubby	Females	.05
Fat	-	-

AGE DIFFERENCES

USE	P <:-
Increased with increased age	.05
Decreased with increased age	.005

TABLE 2.1 A

	ITEM	AGE GROUP < 20	20-29	30-44	⩾ 45	SEX MALE TOTAL	FEMALE TOTAL	TOTAL
1	Bitch (old)	292	153	68	29	279^{+5}	263	547
2	Tart	356	112	52	21	253^{+1}	288	542
3	(old) Bag	238	115	31	21	195^{+2}	210	407
4	Bird	176	123	75	14	235^{+5}	153	393
5	Girl	190	110	57	24	129^{+3}	252	384
6	——	237	75	40	11	173^{+10}	190	373
7	Cow (old)	195	92	30	8	161^{+1}	164	326
8	(old) Nag (ing/bag)	144	87	34	20	141^{+2}	144	287
9	Woman	119	104	32	17	112^{+3}	160	275
10	Tomboy (Tomlad)	122	66	44	17	119	130	249
11	Bit (of)/Piece (of)	90	70	27	13	125^{+2}	75	202
12	Pain (in the)	98	62	24	6	95^{+3}	95	193
13	Old Dear	79	63	35	12	97^{+3}	92	192
14	Slut	98	50	21	13	65	117	182

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

	ITEM	AGE GROUP < 20	20-29	30-44	⩾ 45	SEX MALE TOTAL	FEMALE TOTAL	TOTAL
15	Girlfriend	91	43	22	8	50^{+2}	114	166
16	Moll (old)	37	62	41	18	90	68	158
17	Bit of Stuff	66	47	14	10	88^{+2}	49	139
18	Doll(y Bird)	43	41	27	20	70^{+6}	61	137
19	Chick	61	27	19	7	59^{+1}	55	115
20	Pain in the Neck	63	32	10	6	45^{+2}	66	113
21	Gold Digger	28	29	22	13	47^{+3}	45	95
22	Scrubber	44	30	16	2	61^{+1}	31	93
23	Slag(in/heap/Bag)	48	22	9	1	49	31	80
24	Tub(by)	32	19	11	11	28^{+1}	45	74
25	Dame/Dam	25	17	8	14	32^{+1}	32	65
26	Boot	42	20	2	-	44	20	64
27	Wifie (old)	38	11	10	-	23	36	59
	Whore	24	19	16	-	37	22	59

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

	ITEM	AGE GROUP < 20	20-29	30-44	⩾ 45	SEX MALE TOTAL	FEMALE TOTAL	TOTAL
29	Fat	43	15	-	-	37	21	58
30	Female	37	19	-	-	24^{+1}	32	57
	Chatterbox(y)	28	13	9	6	26^{+1}	30	57
32	Floosy	11	17	12	9	24^{+2}	25	51
33	(old) Lady	20	17	11	1	19^{+1}	30	50
34	Pain in the Arse/Ass	17	19	7	-	34	9	43
35	Trollop	11	10	12	8	18^{+1}	23	42
36	Pro(sty/stitute)	26	6	5	3	25^{+1}	15	41
37	Flirt	20	12	3	2	15	22	37
	Trendy	9	25	2	-	15^{+1}	21	37
	Pain	18	11	7	-	16^{+1}	20	37
40	Moan(er/ing)	20	14	1	-	12	23	35
	(old) Wife	8	20	6	1	26	9	35
42	(old) Hag	16	11	3	4	21	13	34

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

	ITEM	AGE GROUP < 20	20-29	30-44	≥ 45	SEX MALE TOTAL	FEMALE TOTAL	TOTAL
43	Man/felly/Boy/Bloke	25	7	1	-	4	29	33
44	Lass(ie)	13	9	5	5	15	17	32
45	Fuss(er/Pot)	9	6	4	9	12^{+1}	16	29
46	Tramp	18	7	-	2	14^{+1}	13	28
47	Ride	10	15	2	-	21	6	27
48	(going) Steady (with)	9	7	6	2	11^{+2}	13	26
49	Wee Hairy	4	10	7	4	17	8	25
	Bint	1	14	2	8	20	5	25
	Lumber	7	7	6	5	16	9	25
52	Money grabbing (Arab/ Scot)	8	10	5	-	11	12	23
	Dumpy	6	10	6	1	10	13	23
	Mess	11	8	4	-	10	13	23
	Nark	3	10	4	6	15	8	23

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

	ITEM	AGE GROUP < 20	20-29	30-44	⩾ 45	SEX MALE TOTAL	FEMALE TOTAL	TOTAL
56	Bastard (old)	11	11	-	-	16	6	22
57	Besom	5	3	7	5	9^{+1}	11	21
58	Smart(ie Pants)	3	8	6	3	10	10	20
59	Cunt (old)	9	7	1	-	10	7	17
	Pig (Face)	4	13	-	-	11	6	17
	Scruffs(y)	13	4	-	-	8	9	17
62	Old Bat	5	6	4	1	12	4	16
63	Bore	7	7	-	1	10	5	15
	Greedy	12	3	-	-	6	9	15
	Fatso	13	2	-	-	8	7	15
66	Old Girl	6	4	4	-	11	3	14
67	(old) Nagger	3	3	5	-	3^{+2}	8	13
	Bad tempered	8	4	-	-	2^{+1}	10	13
	Plump	5	7	1	-	4	9	13

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

	ITEM	AGE GROUP < 20	20-29	30-44	≥ 45	SEX MALE TOTAL	FEMALE TOTAL	TOTAL
70	(old) Biddy/Buddy	2	1	9	-	5	7	12
71	Cracker	2	6	3	-	10	1	11
	Sight	5	6	-	-	4	7	11
	Poser	6	3	2	-	7	4	11
	Mother	2	4	4	-	5^{+1}	5	11
	Bike/Bicycle	1	7	2	1	8	3	11
76	Les(by/bian)	6	3	1	-	5	5	10
	Blether(skite)	2	3	3	2	4	6	10
	Barrel (Harold the/wee)	3	6	1	-	6	4	10
MISCELLANEOUS		405	403	239	82	661^{+32}	468	1161
Totals		4022	2554	1219	507	4225^{+109}	4077	8411

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Disciplinarian	1	Cute	1	Wick	1
Old Bugger	3	Midden	1	Needle	1
Shitepot	1	Cess Pit	1	Disagreeable	1
Old Bove	1	Grot	1	Wasp	1
Quim	1	Washer	1	Clever	1
Battle-axe	6	Filthy/dirty	6	Clatty	4
Punter/Punt	3	Loner	1	Slouch	1
Occupier	1	Turkish Wrestler's Semmit	1	Built for Comfort Not Speed	2
Scraggy	1	Marble	1	Blossom	1
Old Darling	1	Bleuch	1	Slattern	4
Hack	4	Scap	1	Sloven(ly)	3
Old Bird	2	Honker	1	Badly Kept	1
Old So and So	1	Magic	1	Temptress	1

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Shagnasty	1	Lousy Degenerate	1	Teenager	3
Onion with Legs	1	Slob	1	Cor/Hey wow man	3
Little Plum	1	Scaffy	1	Tell me more	1
Wee Mo	1	Impoverished	1	Student	1
Wee Nyaff	1	Tink	1	Miss	1
Squab	1	Glob	1	Crumpet	1
Petite	2	Podge(y)	7	Tarted Up	3
Pregnant	2	Pudding	6	Rosie	1
Homely	1	Dumpling	7	Encrustation	1
Wee Dottle	1	Cuddley	7	Caked	2
Chubby	5	Big	2	Chemists' Friend	1
All That Meat and No Potatoes	1	(Screw) Ball (Shaped)	3	Replace Cork on a Bottle	1
Glutton	1	Dulux	1	Mutton	1
Wee Heavy	2	Mucky	2	Painted (up/Piece)	8

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Sister-in-law	1	Coke-face	1	Ugly/Spotty	3
Button	1	Hidden Charm	1	Plaster(er/Face)	3
Slim	2	Coward	1	Overdone	1
Porky	2	Pigeon	1	Pancake	1
Womble	1	Rackel	1	Adolescent	1
Winnie Wishbone	1	Hippy	1	Mud Pack	1
Humpty Dumpty	2	Spitfire	1	Chameleon	1
Lovely	1	Bottled Pop	1	Common	1
Jaffa	1	Touchy	3	Masker	1
Docker	1	Winger	1	Polyfilla	1
Rotund(a)	2	Ball-crusher	1	False	1
Cream Bun	1	Sarc(astic)	2	Freak	1
Not Much Chest	1	Short	1	Bionic Coupon	1
Tomato	1	Spunky	1	Wimpey	2

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
TItch	2	Snappy	3	Mizz (Libber)	3
Something	1	Fashion Plate	2	Shag Happy	1
Clothes Conscious	2	Swish	1	Soapy	1
Pseud	1	Chique	1	Jump	1
Neat	3	Oil Painting	2	Good Thing	1
Posh	1	Spoilt	3	Teaser	1
Easily Influenced	1	Bad News	1	Snip	1
Vain	2	Pampered	1	Mama	1
Gang Bang	1	Kinky	1	Nympho	1
Mistress	1	Moody	2	Groundsheet	1
Mad	1	Crab	4	Harlot	1
Side-kick	1	Grump	1	Slack (Alice)	5
Lay-over	1	Tit	1	Good Looking	1
Elliott Ness	1	Hothead	2	Man Catcher/Chaser	2

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Comic Singer	1	Muff	1	Frustrated	2
Hooligan	1	Mature	5	Promiscuous	1
Scab	1	Getting On (a bit)	2	Healthy	1
Crone	4	Old Wag	1	Butterfly	1
Harridan	2	Matron	1	Tube	6
Dragon	1	Past It	1	Click	1
Swine	1	Darling	1	Waste	1
Spinster	1	Witch	4	Lucky	6
Experienced	4	Lagger	1	Going With	1
Talent	1	Old Timer	2	Bagged Off With	1
Elderly	1	Old Dutch	1	Who he's Off With	6
Well-stuffed	1	Grouse	1	Fantastic	1
Pensioner	1	Vixen	7	Groupie	1
Hen	1	Mare	2	Horny	1
No-good	3	Mod	1	Gets/been/Plays Around	7

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Dolled Up	2	Fireball/Fiery	3	Fast Piece	1
With It	4	Ratty	4	Hot Bit	1
Swinger	2	Uptight	1	Cheap	2
Modern	1	Tiresome	1	Run Around	1
Sharp Dresser	1	Redhead	1	Pincushion	1
Slick	1	Dour	1	Man's Woman	1
Model-type	1	Strop	1	Playing the Field	1
Social Climber	1	Temperamental	4	Popular	1
Up-to-date/the minute	3	Smiler	2	Hole Hunter	1
Well-dressed	1	Yelp	1	No Mug	1
O.K.	6	Scurly	1	Bird Dropping	1
'In'	1	Greeting Faced	3	Lousy B	1
Smoothy	4	Wellie	5	Nasty	4
Beamer	1	Unprincipled	1	Old Flapper	1
Stooge	1	Leech	2	Patter Merchant	2

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Waggler	1	Cocksucker	1	Haver	1
Cat	8	Fool	2	Piebrognipper	1
Gossip	1	Typical	2	Liar	3
Spike	1	Parasite	4	Show Off	3
Toss	1	Just Married Slut	3	Old Baggins	2
Loose	3	Good Time Girl	3	Snot	1
Muffin	1	Smart Cookie	1	Grumbler	1
Nice (one)	6	Money Freak	1	Crap (Lad)	2
Courting	1	Half-Wit	2	Over-sensitive	1
Daft	1	Hanger On	4	Ornament	1
Scollop	4	Fashionable	6	Idiot	3
Abnormal	1	Ponse	1	Wind/Gas(sie) Bag	3
Grasper	1	Fortune Hunter	1	Bloody Nuisance	4
Pot Hunter	1	Money on the Brain	1	Scatty	1
Mean	1	Out for All She Can Get	1	Chuner	1

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
BUM	1	Bumchum	1	Good Grief!	1
Easy Rider	2	Waster	1	Menace	1
Truthful	1	Conner	2	Rabbiter/ing	2
Skinflint	1	Crook	2	Chin-wag	1
Fickle	1	Not Nice to Know	1	Witterer	1
Hard Case	1	Debutant	1	Yatter	1
Picky	1	Opportunist	2	Monkey	1
Better Without	1	Jew	4	Gardener	2
Flighty	6	Ruthless	1	Footer	1
Kidnapper	1	Amoral	1	Silly Old Moo	1
Juvenile	1	Scrounger	4	Crotchety	2
With an Eye to the Main Chance	1	Margo of "The Good Life"	1	You Know What I Mean	1
Hedgehog	1	Harpy	2	Grouch	6
Fly-by-Night	1	Pest	5	Old Crow	5

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Tight (Fisted)	4	Householder	4	Guffy	2
Reeler	1	Headache	1	Testy	1
Two Timer/ing	4	Yap	1	Busybody	1
Crawler	1	Gab	1	Don	1
Waffler	1	Hied Nipper	1	Waste of Time	1
Money Bag	1	Mother-fucker	1	Petty	1
Mercenary	1	Nitwit	1	(Boring) Old Fart	3
Sponger	6	Do-Gooder	1	Crabbit	9
Chancer	4	Arse Licker/Itcher	2	Morningside Matron	1
Selfish	8	Gitter	1	Old Scunner	1
Sensible	6	Snied	3	Old Torn Face	1
Avaricious	1	Crosspatch	2	Bosom	1
Officious	1	Oul Faggot	4	Sour Puss	5
Old Rat Bag	8	Natter(er)	4	Sour Apple	1

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Old Misery/Miserable	4	Crocodiles	1	Square/Cube	5
St. Bruno Smoker	1	Prick Teaser	1	Cowfaced	2
Brer	1	Fiasco	1	Lady-love	1
Homework	1	Better Half	1	Regular	6
Unusual	1	Monster	1	Trouble and Strife	1
Nigger	1	Gee Gow	1	Fiancee	1
Sister	1	Number	1	(Lady) Friend	3
Spares	1	Winos	1	Plebs	2
Proles	2	Sods	2	Dissidents	1
Love Birds	1	Morons	2	Hetero	1
Transversite	1	Star	1	Snob	5
One of the/A bit of a Lad(s)	2	Hackit	2	Harem	1
Butch	4	Grop	1	Chopper	1

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Liberated	4	Git	7	Cool	1
Tom	1	Shit(e) (Hawk)	7	Crowbar	1
Virgen	5	Gibber(ing)	3	After Shave	1
Alcoholic/Alchie	2	Stinker	1	Gun	1
Punks	2	(Razor) Gob	2	Lawyer	1
Clowns	2	Stickler	1	Lipstick	1
Warts	1	Horror	1	What's It	1
Bams	1	Pair	2	Cat	1
Neds (Nedess)	2	Spastic	1	Hat	1
Buts	1	Drag	2	Fan Club	1
Lovers/Love	3	Tartar	7	St. Christopher	1
Arses/Ass Hole	4	Virago	1	Tie Pin	1
Layabout	1	Loud Mouth	8	Kit	1
Bendos	1	Shrew	7	Tager	1

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Wauks	1	Termagant	1	Tools	1
Poof	5	Hips	1	Missus	8
Boppers/Teenie Bops	8	Screw	9	Gear	4
Long Haired Louts	4	Wierdo	2	Radge(y)	6
Twits	5	Easy/Good Lay	6	Old Thing	6
Twats	2	Bachle Erse	1	Mallet	2
Pukrons	1	Nowty	1	Date	4
Rollers	1	Mither	2	Smile	1
Drunks	5	Scold	4	Trousers	1
Kids	6	Shocker	1	Leer	1
Empty-heads	1	Queen	1	Bow Tie	1
Yobs/Yobboes	2	Sooty Bear	2	Hair Oil	1
Slobs	1	Fancy Woman/Piece	6	Slickness	1
Boozers	3	Right of Way	1	Extra	1
Piss Artists	2	Banger	1	Handbag	1

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Brats	5	Biff	1	Two Big Brains	1
Nuts	1	Dustbin	1	Fagend	1
Muckers	1	Case	1	Clara	1
Prick	2	Go-er	4	Carpet Bagger	1
(Old) Granny (Giles)	8	Hussy	3	Penile Receptacle	1
Cripple	1	Brasser/Brass Nailer	4	Broad	6
Old One	3	Gamer	1	Mott(Piece)	4
Old Duck	3	State	2	Party	1
Short	1	Queer	5	Wench	7
Geriatric	1	Henchman	1	Sow	3
Smirk	1	Groover	1	Made-up Piece	2
Creep	7	Dug	1	Knock-out	1
Sucker	1	Hingoot	5	Ladder	1
Groaning Lump	1	Pantyless Crotch	1	Damoiselle	1
Madam	8	Honey	1	Looker	1

TABLE 2.1 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Belter	1	Beut	1	Corker	1
Stunner	2	Christmas Tree	1	Dish/Dishy	3
Eyeful	1	Wee Stoater	5	Smasher	9
Mannequin Parade	1	Topsy	1	Flossy	5
Raver	5	Fucker	1		

Total Number of Individual Miscellaneous Items: 589.

TABLE 2.1 B

Item	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES		
	Used by:-	p < :-	Used by:-	Not Used by:-	p < :-
Bitch	-	-	-	-	-
Tart	-	-	<20	20-45+	.001
(Old) Bag	-	-	<20	30-44	.001
Bird	Males	.001	30-44	45+	.05
Girl	Females	.001	-	-	-
---	-	-	<20	20-45+	.001
Cow	-	-	<20	20-45+	.001
Nag	-	-	-	-	-
Woman	Females	.005	-	-	-
Tomboy	-	-	-	-	-
Bit/Piece (of..)	Males	.005	-	-	-
Pain (in the ...)	-	-	-	-	-
Old Dear	-	-	-	-	-
Slut	Females	.001	-	-	-
Girlfriend	Females	.001	-	-	-

TABLE 2.1 B (contd)

Item	SEX DIFFERENCES Used by:-	SEX DIFFERENCES p < :-	AGE DIFFERENCES Used by:-	AGE DIFFERENCES Not Used by:-	AGE DIFFERENCES p < :-
Moll	-	-	20-45+	<20	.001
Bit of Stuff	Males	.005	-	-	-
Doll/Dolly Bird	-	-	30-45+	<20	.001
Chick	-	-	-	-	-
Pain in the Neck	Females	.05	-	-	-
Gold-digger	-	-	30-45+	<20	.001
Scrubber	Males	.005	-	-	-
Slag	-	-	-	-	-
Tub/Tubby	Females	.05	45+	-	.05
Dame	-	-	45+	-	.001
Boot	Males	.01	<20	30 -45+	.01
Wifie	-	-	<20	20 -29/45+	.05
Whore	-	-	30-44	45+	.05
Fat	-	-	<20	30 -45+	.001

TABLE 2.1 B (contd)

Item	SEX DIFFERENCES Used by:-	SEX DIFFERENCES p < :-	AGE DIFFERENCES Used by:-	AGE DIFFERENCES Not Used by:	AGE DIFFERENCES p < :-
Female	-	-	<20	30-45+	.005
Chatterbox	-	-	-	-	-
Floosy	-	-	30-45+	<20	.001
Lady	-	-	-	-	-
Pain in the Arse	Males	.001	-	-	-
Trollop	-	-	30-45+	<20	.001
Pro(stit ute)	-	-	-	-	-
Flirt	-	-	-	-	-
Trendy	-	-	20-29	<20/30-45+	.001
Pain (in the ..)	-	-	-	-	-
Moan	-	-	-	-	-
Wife	Males	.01	20-29	<20	.005
Hag	-	-	-	-	-
Man/Felly/Bloke	Females	.001	<20	30-45+	.05
Lass	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 2.1 B (contd)

Item	SEX DIFFERENCES Used by:-	p < :-	AGE DIFFERENCES Used by:-	Not Used by:-	p < :-
Fuss (Pot)	-	-	45+	-	.001
Tramp	-	-	-	-	-
Ride	Males	.01	20-29	-	.05
Steady	-	-	-	-	-
Wee Hairy	-	-	30-45+	<20	.005
Bint	Males	.01	20-29/45+	<20	.001
Lumber	-	-	45+	<20	.01
Money-grabbing	-	-	-	-	-
Dumpy	-	-	-	-	-
Mess	-	-	-	-	-
Nark	-	-	45+	<20	.001
Bastard	-	-	-	-	-
Besom	-	-	30-45+	-	.001
Smart(ie Pants)	-	-	30-45+	<20	.01
Cunt	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 2.1 B (contd)

Item	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES		
	Used by:-	p < :-	Used by:-	Not Used by:-	p < :-
Pig	-	-	20-29	30-44	.001
Scruffs	-	-	-	-	-
Bat	-	-	-	-	-
Bore	-	-	-	-	-
Greedy	-	-	-	-	-
Fatso	-	-	<20	-	.01
Old Girl	-	-	-	-	-
Nagger	-	-	30-44	-	.05
Bad Tempered	Females	.05	-	-	-
Plump	-	-	-	-	-
Biddy	-	-	30-44	<20	.001
Cracker	Males	.05	-	-	-
Sight	-	-	-	-	-
Poser	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 2.1 B (contd)

Item	SEX DIFFERENCES		AGE DIFFERENCES		
	Used by:-	p < :-	Used by:-	Not Used by:-	p < :-
Mother	-	-	-	-	-
Bike	-	-	20-29	<20	.05
Les(bian)	-	-	-	-	-
Blether	-	-	-	-	-
Barrel	-	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS	Males	.001	20-44	<20	.001

TABLE 2.2 A

	ITEM	AGE GROUP <20	20-29	30-44	>45	SEX MALE TOTAL	FEMALE TOTAL	TOTAL
1	Shut Up/It	74	39	22	6	59[+3]	82	144
2	Scarper	57	32	30	9	51[+1]	77	129
3	Split	41	33	10	-	45	39	84
4	Belt Up	28	24	9	8	31	38	69
5	Knackered It Up	30	21	9	2	33[+1]	29	63
6	Go Home	25	21	10	1	25	32	57
7	Leave	29	12	2	1	16	28	44
8	Blew	22	13	3	3	14	27	41
9	Run (For It/Like Fuck/ Like Hell/Away)	22	11	2	1	13[+1]	23	37
10	Piss Off	20	10	2	2	25	9	34
11	Fuck Off/Up/F. Off	12	17	3	-	24	8	32
12	Cocked It (Up)	8	8	10	1	17	10	27
	Buggered It (Up)	11	6	8	2	17	10	27
14	-------	17	3	2	1	12	11	23

TABLE 2.2 A (contd)

	ITEM	AGE GROUP <20	20-29	30-44	≥45	SEX MALE TOTAL	FEMALE TOTAL	TOTAL
15	Scoot	10	2	2	2	7^{+2}	9	18
	Bugger Off	9	7	1	1	9	9	18
17	Fucked It Up	5	10	1	-	15^{+1}	1	17
18	Shift	4	7	3	2	9	7	16
19	Mucked It Up	6	2	4	1	2	11	13
20	Scram	5	4	2	-	4	7	11
	Be Quiet	3	4	3	1	3	8	11
22	Shut/Close Your ...	6	1	2	1	8	2	10
	Beat It	-	5	3	2	9	1	10
MISCELLANEOUS		118	72	34	18	149^{+7}	93	249
		562	364	177	65	597^{+16}	571	1184

TABLE 2.2 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Used	1	Started	4	Knash/Gnash	4
Spoiled	6	Flunked	1	Went Randy	1
Screwed It Up	8	Poxed	1	Bolted	1
Razzered	1	Got	1	Checked	1
Put The Clog In	1	Shot	2	Grabbed	1
Messed It (Up)	5	Guffed	1	Scrapped	1
Made a Balls of	2	Burst	2	Bust(ed)	4
Ballsed It Up	5	Duffed	1	Knacked It (Up)	1
Feiced	1	Did	3	...Sharpish	3
Fluffed It	2	Muffed	1	Beetle Off	1
Mandraked	1	Jiggered	2	Move On	7
Fixed	2	Lumbered	1	Skidaddle	6
Hashed	1	Wanked	2	Shoot	4
Split	8	Handled	1	Shoot The Crow	2

TABLE 2.2 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Wrecked	2	Cracked	1	Via	1
Broke	4	Played	1	Depart	2
Fouled It Up	1	Smoked	1	Vamoose	1
Ruined	3	Scamper	5	Bolt	2
Leave Them	1	Blow	8	Push Off	4
Annihilate It	1	Exit Stage Right	1	Skit	1
Vanish	2	Emigrate	1	Confess	1
Buzz Off	3	Get Out/Going	5	Call It a Day	1
Stoor(ie)	6	Take Off	2	Do a Sprint	1
Disappear	4	Bomb It	4	Retire	1
Offski	2	Take My Clothes Off	1	Rush	2
Hide	1	Steve	1	Bow Out	1
Scat	2	Slide Off	1	Get Lost	6
Avoid Him	1	Clear Off/Out	8	Sloutch	1

TABLE 2.2 A (contd)

BREAKDOWN OF MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY

ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES	ITEM	OCCURR -ENCES
Tank It	1	Drink	1	Cut Out	1
Make Tracks	1	Quit	3	Pur a Sock in It	1
Drift	2	Kick Him In	2	Cool It	1
Cop Out	1	Slash	1	Turn It Up	1
Get Stuffed	4	Pee Off	2	Ssh/Shush/Wheesht	3
Throw Shit at the Moon	1	Say Goodbye	1	Pipe Down	1
Bail Out	1	B. Off	1	Jack It In	1
Blow a Joint	1	Dry Up	1	Where to Go	1
Plot the Joint	1	Clam Up	1	Button It	1
Sod Off	1	Slag	2	Rap Up/It	4
Beat Him Up	1	Kill It	1	Anchor	1
Sing	1	Knock Off	1	Bottle It	1

Total Number of Individual Miscellaneous Items: 119.

TABLE 2.2 B

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES Used by:-	p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES Used by:-	Not Used by:-	p <:-
Shut Up/It	Females	.05	-	-	-
Scarper	Females	.05	-	-	-
Split	-	-	-	45+	.05
Belt Up	-	-	-	-	-
Knackered	-	-	-	-	-
Go (Home)	-	-	-	-	-
Leave	-	-	<20	30-44	.05
Blew	Females	.05	-	-	-
Run	-	-	-	-	-
Piss Off	Males	.05	-	-	-
Fuck Off	Males	.05	20-29	-	.05
Cocked It Up	-	-	30-44	-	.05
Buggered	-	-	-	-	-
-------	-	-	-	-	-
Scoot	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 2.2 B (contd)

ITEM	SEX DIFFERENCES Used by:-	SEX DIFFERENCES p <:-	AGE DIFFERENCES Used by:-	AGE DIFFERENCES Not Used by:-	AGE DIFFERENCES p< :-
Bugger Off	-	-	-	-	-
Fucked It Up	Males	.005	-	-	-
Shift	-	-	-	-	-
Mucked It Up	Females	.05	-	-	-
Scram	-	-	-	-	-
Be Quiet	-	-	-	-	-
Shut your ...	-	-	-	-	-
Beat It	Males	.05	45+	<20	.05
MISCELLANEOUS	Males	.005	-	-	-

TABLE 3

	ITEM	(a)*	(b)*	(c)*	$^{a}/_{b}$	$\frac{(a-c)}{(b-c)}$
1	Tomboy	249	1	-	-	249
2	Tub(by)	74	1	-	-	74
3	Fat	58	1	-	-	58
4	(MISCELLANEOUS)	1161	27	-	-	43
5	Girlfriend	166	4	-	-	41.5
6	Old Dear	192	8	3	24.0	37.8
7	Trendy	37	1	-	-	37
8	Old Bag	407	18	7	22.6	36.4
9	Tart	542	18	2	30.1	33.8
10	Bird	393	16	4	24.6	32.4
11	Girl	384	13	1	29.5	31.9
12	Moll	158	6	1	26.3	31.4
13	Bitch	547	22	4	24.9	30.2
14	Nag	287	13	3	22.1	28.4
15	Bit/Piece (of...)	202	12	5	16.8	28.1
16	Chatterbox	57	3	1	19.0	28
17	Dumpy	23	1	-	-	23
18	Pain ...	193	11	2	17.6	21.2
19	Woman	275	15	2	18.3	21
20	Smart(ie Pants)	20	1	-	-	20
21	Gold Digger	95	5	-	-	19
22	Slut	182	17	6	10.7	16
23	Pain in the Neck	113	9	2	12.6	15.9
24	Greedy	15	1	-	-	15
	Fatso	15	1	-	-	15
26	Wifie	59	5	1	11.8	14.5
	Fuss	29	3	1	9.7	14.5

TABLE 3 (contd)

	ITEM	(a)*	(b)*	(c)*	$^{a}/_{b}$	$\frac{(a-c)}{(b-c)}$
28	Bit of Stuff	139	11	1	12.6	13.8
29	-------	373	30	3	12.4	13.7
30	Cow	326	26	1	12.5	13
	Steady	26	2	-	-	13
	Plump	13	1	-	-	13
33	Pro(sty/stitute)	41	7	4	5.9	12.3
	Flirt	37	3	-	-	12.3
35	Doll	137	15	4	9.1	12.1
36	Sight	11	1	-	-	11
	Bike	11	1	-	-	11
38	Chick	115	13	2	8.6	10.3
39	Blether	10	1	-	-	10
	Barrel	10	1	-	-	10
41	Cracker	11	3	2	3.7	9
42	Scruff	17	2	-	-	8.5
43	Tramp	28	7	4	4.0	8
44	Money Grabbing	23	3	-	-	7.7
	Nark	23	3	-	-	7.7
46	Pain in the Arse	43	10	5	4.3	7.6
47	Hag	34	8	4	4.3	7.5
	Slag	80	15	5	5.3	7.5
49	Pain	37	6	1	6.2	7.2
50	Whore	59	17	10	3.5	7
	Female	57	9	1	6.3	7
52	Scrubber	93	17	4	5.5	6.9
53	Bad Tempered	13	2	-	-	6.5

TABLE 3 (contd)

	ITEM	(a)*	(b)*	(c)*	$^{a}/_{b}$	$\frac{(a-c)}{(b-c)}$
54	Nagger	13	3	1	4.3	6
55	Dame	65	16	6	4.1	5.9
56	Wife	35	11	5	3.2	5.8
	Lumber	25	6	2	4.2	5.8
	Mess	23	4	-	-	5.8
59	Trollop	42	11	4	3.8	5.4
60	Lady	50	12	3	4.2	5.2
	Lassie	32	7	1	4.6	5.2
	Man/Felly	33	8	2	4.1	5.2
63	Moan	35	7	-	-	5
64	Old Bat	16	5	2	3.2	4.7
	Old Girl	14	3	-	-	4.7
66	Poser	11	4	2	2.8	4.5
	Les	10	3	1	3.3	4.5
68	Bastard	22	9	5	2.4	4.3
69	Boot	64	23	10	2.8	4.2
70	Floosy	51	18	6	2.8	3.8
	Besom	21	10	6	2.1	3.8
72	Bore	15	7	4	2.1	3.7
	Old Biddy	12	4	1	3.0	3.7
74	Wee Hairy	25	12	7	2.1	3.6
75	Ride	27	13	6	2.1	3
	Bint	25	11	4	2.3	3
77	Mother	11	5	1	2.2	2.5
78	Cunt	17	10	5	1.7	2.4

TABLE 3 (contd)

	ITEM	(a)*	(b)*	(c)*	$^{a}/_{b}$	$\frac{(a-c)}{(b-c)}$
79	Pig	17	10	4	1.7	2.2

* (a) = Number of instances

(b) = Total number of questions

(c) = Number of idiosyncratic occurrences.

TABLE 4.A

ITEM	A MIDDLE CLASS	B WORKING CLASS	STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE
Bitch	162	134	-
Tart	185	147	-
Bag	128	104	-
Bird	109	152	-
Girl	130	39	A $p < .001$
----	121	69	A $p < .005$
Cow	59	169	B $p < .001$
Nag	68	97	-
Woman	74	30	A $p < .001$
Tomboy	70	54	-
Bit/Piece ...	54	41	-
Old Dear	56	34	-
Slut	53	44	-
Girlfriend	56	17	A $p < .001$
Moll	23	24	-
Doll	21	53	B $p < .005$
Chick	23	56	B $p < .005$
Pain in the Neck	29	27	-
Gold-digger	19	18	-
Scrubber	15	36	B $p < .05$
Slag	36	8	A $p < .001$
Tub	12	23	-
Dame	14	18	-
Boot	21	28	-
Wifie	8	19	-

TABLE 4.A (contd)

ITEM	A MIDDLE CLASS	B WORKING CLASS	STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE
Whore	28	11	A $p < .01$
Fat	7	17	-
Female	26	0	A $p < .001$
Chatterbox	15	20	-
Floosy	6	10	-
Lady	10	7	-
Pain in the Arse	10	5	-
Trollop	6	12	-
Pro(sty/stitute)	11	17	-
Flirt	14	6	-
Trendy	1	1	-
Moan(er)	2	14	B $p < .05$
Wife	4	2	-
Hag	8	5	-
Man/Felly etc.	10	6	-
Lass	12	5	-
Fuss(er/pot)	7	5	-
Tramp	3	13	-
Ride	2	18	B $p < .01$
Steady	3	6	-
Wee Hairy	5	8	-
Bint	2	7	-
Lumber	0	9	B $p < .05$
Money-grabbing	4	5	-
Dumpy	6	1	-

TABLE 4.A (contd)

ITEM	A MIDDLE CLASS	B WORKING CLASS	STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE
Mess	6	4	-
Nark	2	2	-
Bastard	0	19	B $p < .001$
Besom	6	2	-
Smart	6	1	-
Cunt	3	8	-

TABLE 4.B

ITEM	A MIDDLE CLASS	B WORKING CLASS	STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE
Shut Up/It	41	24	-
Scarper	37	23	-
Split	15	33	-
Belt Up	17	27	-
Knackered It Up	22	11	-
Go (Home)	23	9	-
Leave	18	6	-
Blew	12	8	-
Run (for it)	8	4	-
Piss Off	14	10	-
Fuck Off	3	22	B $p < .005$
Cocked It Up	3	2	-
Buggered It	14	3	A $p < .05$
--------	4	12	-

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT ITEMS USED

AGE AND SEX GROUPS		14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	TOT.	MEAN
<20	M	2		2	2	1	4	5	6	9	12	5	3	4	3	5	1	1		65	
	F		2		2	3	5	5	8	11	14	10	13	3	4	1	1			82	
TOTAL	<20	2	2	2	4	4	9	10	14	20	26	15	16	7	7	6	2	1	-	147	22.6
20-29	M						1	1		3	1	10	9	10	7	3	1	2	2	50	
	F						1	1	5	4	5		7	4	3		1	3		34	
TOTAL 20-29		-	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	7	6	10	16	14	10	3	2	5	2	84	25.0
30-44	M		1				2		2	1	1	1	3	5	2	1	2	1	1	23	
	F					1				1	1		6	3	2	4	1			19	
TOTAL 30-44		-	1	-	-	1	2	-	2	2	2	1	9	8	4	5	3	1	1	42	25.2
>45	M									2			3	2	1		2	2	1	13	
	F									1	1	1	1			1				5	
TOTAL >45		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	4	2	1	1	2	2	1	18	26.1

TABLE 5 (contd)

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT ITEMS USED

AGE AND SEX GROUPS	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	TOT.	MEAN
Male Total	2	1	2	2	1	7	6	8	15	14	16	18	21	13	9	6	6	4	151	24.4
Female Total	-	2	-	2	4	6	6	13	17	21	11	27	10	9	6	3	3	-	140	23.5
TOTAL	2	3	2	4	5	13	12	21	32	35	27	45	31	22	15	9	9	4	291	23.9

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES (BY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE)

1. Age Difference: Mean number of items used by the under 20 category less than by each of the other three ($p < .001$). No significant differences between the other three groups.

2. Sex Difference: Mean number of items used by males greater than mean number of items used by females ($p < .05$).

TABLE 6

Item	Question No.	Frequency scored in Section:*				Average Rating	
		1	2	3	4		
Shut Up	1	2	5	35	92	86%	
Belt Up	1	3	16	46	67	74%	
Fuck Off	1	85	26	13	9	17%	22%
Fuck It Up	2	64	36	19	16	26%	
Bugger Off	1	50	38	35	11	33%	43%
Bugger It Up	2	24	32	47	32	52%	
Muck It Up	2	2	3	16	113	92%	
Bird	3	3	10	36	86	84%	82%
	4	7	11	42	74	79%	
Girl	3	1	3	9	122	95%	
	4	1	4	13	117	95%	95%
	8	7	3	5	120	94%	
Doll	3	12	22	44	57	70%	72%
	7	15	18	34	66	74%	
Bit of Stuff	3	14	26	48	47	67%	
	4	22	31	46	36	58%	62%
	7	18	32	43	42	62%	
Girlfriend	4	3	1	4	127	97%	
Bitch	5	17	38	47	33	60%	59%
	8	18	34	56	27	57%	
Cow	5	44	54	24	13	36%	38%
	8	40	44	32	18	39%	

TABLE 6 (contd)

Item	Question No.	Frequency scored in Section:*				Average Rating	
		1	2	3	4		
Pain in the Neck	5	4	3	27	101	89%	
Pain in the Arse	5	34	34	40	27	46%	
Slut	6	30	33	31	41	59%	
	7	26	36	47	26	51%	55%
	8	26	42	36	32	54%	
Slag	6	32	44	32	25	47%	
	7	29	43	36	23	47%	47%
Scrubber	6	30	35	39	29	51%	
	7	32	27	38	35	51%	51%
Whore	7	43	39	38	15	40%	
	8	42	43	33	17	39%	39%
Ride	7	73	39	9	11	23%	
	8	73	42	12	6	22%	23%

* 1 = 0 - 24
  2 = 25 - 49
  3 = 50 - 74
  4 = 75 - 100

TABLE 7

Item	Question Nos.	More Acceptable	p <
Bird	3/4	-	-
Girl*	3/4/8	*	.01
Doll	3/7	-	-
Bit of Stuff	3/4/7	-	-
Bitch	5/8	-	-
Cow	5/8	-	-
Slut	6/7/8	6 more acceptable than 7;8 not different from 6 or 7.	.01
Slag	6/7	-	-
Scrubber	6/7	-	-
Whore	7/8	-	-
Ride	7/8	-	-
Fuck Off/ Fuck It Up	1/2	Fuck It Up	.001
Bugger Off/ Bugger It Up	1/2	Bugger It Up	.001

* See Results Section, Chapter 2.

TABLE 8

Items	More Acceptable	p <
Bugger Off/Fuck Off	Bugger Off	.001
Bugger It Up/Fuck It Up	Bugger It Up	.001
Bird/Girl	Girl	.001
Pain in the Neck/Pain in the Arse	Pain in the Neck	.001
Bitch/Cow	Bitch	.001
Scrubber/Slag	Scrubber	.01
Fuck Off/Fuck It Up	Fuck It Up	.001
Bugger Off/Bugger It Up	Bugger It Up	.001

TABLE 9

Q. No	Item	Working Class (WC) 1	2	3	4	Middle Class (MC) 1	2	3	4	More Acceptable	p <
1	Shut Up	0	0	9	47	2	5	26	45	WC	.001
	Belt Up	1	2	23	29	2	14	23	38	WC	.05
	Fuck Off	37	10	5	3	48	16	8	6	-	-
	Bugger Off	13	22	19	2	37	16	16	9	WC	.001
2	Bugger It Up	8	12	24	13	16	20	23	19	-	-
	Fuck It Up	25	21	7	4	39	15	12	12	WC*	.01
	Muck It Up	0	1	9	47	2	2	7	66	-	-
3	Bird	1	6	17	33	2	4	19	53	-	-
	Girl	0	1	4	52	1	2	5	70	-	-
	Doll	4	7	25	21	8	15	19	36	WC*	.05
	Bit of Stuff	4	9	28	16	10	17	20	31	WC*	.01
4	Bird	4	4	23	25	3	7	19	49	MC	.01
	Girl	0	0	0	32	0	1	7	31	-	-
	Bit of Stuff	6	13	24	14	16	18	22	22	-	-

TABLE 9 (contd)

Q. No	Item	Working Class (WC) 1	2	3	4	Middle Class (MC) 1	2	3	4	More Acceptable	p <
4	Girlfriend	1	0	2	54	2	1	2	73	-	-
5	Bitch	2	16	20	19	15	22	27	14	WC	.01
	Cow	20	26	8	3	24	28	16	10	-	-
	Pain in the Neck	0	3	11	43	4	0	16	58	-	-
	Pain in the Arse	14	11	22	10	20	23	18	17	WC*	.05
6	Slut	10	12	16	19	20	21	15	22	-	-
	Slag	8	26	14	9	24	18	18	16	MC*	-
	Scrubber	10	13	21	13	20	22	18	16	-	-
7	Doll	6	5	16	29	9	13	18	37	-	-
	Slut	11	15	23	8	15	21	24	18	-	-
	Slag	9	22	18	8	20	21	18	15	WC*	.05
	Whore	18	19	16	4	25	20	22	11	-	-

Table 9 (contd)

Q. No	Item	Working Class (WC) 1	2	3	4	Middle Class (MC) 1	2	3	4	More Acceptable	p <
7	Ride	32	16	3	6	41	23	6	5	-	-
	Bit of Stuff	8	11	23	15	10	21	20	27	-	-
	Scrubber	13	10	19	15	19	17	19	20	-	-
8	Girl	3	3	1	50	4	0	4	70	-	-
	Slut	9	12	23	13	17	30	13	19	WC	.001
	Whore	14	17	18	8	28	26	15	9	-	-
	Ride	28	20	6	3	45	22	6	3	-	-
	Cow	14	23	13	7	26	21	19	11	-	-
	Bitch	4	11	30	12	14	23	26	15	WC	.01

*See Results Section, Chapter 2.

TABLE 10

Q. No.	Item	Male 1	Male 2	Male 3	Male 4	Female 1	Female 2	Female 3	Female 4	More Acceptable to	p <
1	Shut Up	2	3	17	41	0	2	18	51	-	-
	Belt Up	3	8	22	30	0	8	24	37	-	-
	Fuck Off	35	11	10	7	50	15	3	2	Male	.01
	Bugger Off	20	14	22	7	30	24	13	4	Male	.01
2	Bugger It Up	9	12	23	20	15	20	24	12	Male	.05
	Fuck It Up	25	15	13	11	39	21	6	5	Male	.01
	Muck It Up	0	2	9	52	2	1	7	61	-	-
3	Bird	2	5	13	44	1	5	23	42	-	-
	Girl	0	1	8	55	1	2	1	67	-	-
	Doll	6	9	19	30	6	13	25	27	-	-
	Bit of Stuff	4	8	19	33	10	18	29	14	Male	.001
4	Bird	4	2	19	38	3	9	23	36	-	-
	Girl	1	3	6	55	0	1	7	63	-	-
	Bit of Stuff	5	15	22	22	17	16	24	14	Male	.001

TABLE 10 (contd)

Q. No.	Item	Male 1	Male 2	Male 3	Male 4	Female 1	Female 2	Female 3	Female 4	More Acceptable to	p <
	Girlfriend	3	0	2	59	0	1	2	68	-	-
5	Bitch	6	18	19	21	11	20	28	12	Male	.05
	Cow	17	25	12	10	27	29	12	3	Male	.01
	Pain in the Neck	2	2	12	48	2	1	15	53	-	-
	Pain in the Arse	10	15	17	22	24	19	23	5	Male	.001
6	Slut	12	17	15	20	18	16	16	21	-	-
	Slag	10	19	18	17	22	25	14	8	Male	.001
	Scrubber	10	15	20	19	20	20	19	10	Male	.01
7	Doll	10	8	11	35	5	10	23	31	Female	.01
	Slut	10	17	23	14	16	19	24	12	-	-
	Slag	10	17	22	15	19	26	14	8	Male	.001
	Whore	14	16	21	13	29	23	17	2	Male	.001

TABLE 10 (contd)

Q. No.	Item	Male 1	Male 2	Male 3	Male 4	Female 1	Female 2	Female 3	Female 4	More Acceptable to	p <
7	Ride	23	21	8	11	50	18	1	0	Male	.001
	Bit of Stuff	9	8	20	27	9	24	23	15	Male	.001
	Scrubber	9	13	20	22	23	14	18	13	Male	.001
8	Girl	5	2	2	55	2	1	3	65	-	-
	Slut	11	15	17	20	15	25	19	12	Male	.05
	Whore	12	20	18	14	30	23	15	3	Male	.001
	Ride	21	25	8	9	52	17	1	0	Male	.001
	Cow	14	19	17	14	26	25	15	4	Male	.001
	Bitch	7	14	29	14	11	20	27	13	-	-

TABLE 11

Q No	Item	Age Range																More Acceptable to:
		<20				20-29				30-44				>45				
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
1	Shut Up	0	1	7	24	1	3	16	42	0	0	4	15	1	1	8	11	-
	Belt Up	0	5	9	18	2	4	21	34	0	2	9	8	1	5	7	7	-
	Fuck Off	20	8	4	0	32	15	6	9	17	1	1	0	16	3	2	0	-
	Bugger Off	12	8	12	0	21	16	15	10	8	8	3	0	9	6	5	1	-
2	Bugger It Up	4	10	14	4	11	13	22	17	4	4	5	6	5	5	6	5	-
	Fuck It Up	13	12	4	3	24	17	10	12	13	5	1	0	14	2	4	1	-
	Muck It Up	0	0	1	30	1	2	8	52	0	1	3	15	1	0	4	16	-
3	Bird	0	2	13	17	3	5	13	42	0	1	5	13	0	2	5	14	-
	Girl	0	2	1	29	1	1	6	55	0	0	1	18	0	0	1	20	-
	Doll	3	6	14	9	8	9	17	29	0	5	6	8	1	2	7	11	-
	Bit of Stuff	4	5	15	8	8	13	19	23	1	4	9	5	1	4	5	11	-
4	Bird	1	4	13	14	4	6	16	37	0	1	7	11	2	0	7	12	-

TABLE 11 (contd)

Q No	Item	Age Range																More Acceptable to:
		<20				20-29				30-44				>45				
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
	Girl	0	0	3	29	1	4	5	54	0	0	1	18	0	0	4	17	-
	Bit of Stuff	5	9	11	7	11	13	24	15	2	4	7	6	4	5	4	8	-
	Girlfriend	0	0	1	31	3	1	2	57	0	0	0	19	0	0	1	20	-
5	Bitch	3	14	10	5	11	17	20	15	3	1	7	8	0	6	10	5	-
	Cow	8	14	9	1	22	25	9	7	8	4	5	2	6	11	1	3	-
	Pain in the Neck	0	0	4	28	4	2	14	43	0	0	4	15	0	1	5	15	-
	Pain in the Arse	5	8	14	5	15	13	17	18	7	7	5	0	7	6	4	4	-
6	Slut	9	9	8	6	17	16	12	18	4	5	4	6	0	3	7	11	-
	Slag	10	8	8	5	13	21	13	16	5	7	5	2	4	8	6	2	-
	Scrubber	7	10	6	8	17	12	22	12	5	5	5	4	1	8	6	5	-
7	Doll	4	5	9	14	9	8	17	29	2	4	4	8	0	1	4	15	-

TABLE 11 (contd)

Q No	Item	Age Range																More Acceptable to:
		<20				20-29				30-44				>45				
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
7	Slut	2	10	15	5	15	14	19	15	7	7	4	1	2	5	9	5	-
	Slag	3	14	9	4	16	11	21	14	6	8	2	3	4	10	4	2	-
	Whore	7	11	8	6	21	15	20	7	8	6	4	1	7	7	6	1	-
	Ride	16	9	3	4	32	18	6	7	12	5	0	0	13	7	0	0	Under 30s $p < .05$
	Bit of Stuff	7	8	11	6	7	18	20	18	1	3	7	8	3	3	5	10	-
	Scrubber	7	3	11	10	15	11	20	16	5	8	2	4	5	5	5	5	-
8	Girl	0	0	2	30	7	1	2	53	0	1	1	17	0	1	0	20	-
	Slut	2	12	13	5	18	16	12	16	4	7	4	4	2	5	7	7	-
	Whore	6	12	10	4	20	18	16	9	9	6	2	2	7	7	5	2	-
	Ride	17	11	2	2	33	18	7	5	13	4	0	0	10	9	0	2	-
	Cow	4	12	11	4	18	21	13	11	7	7	3	2	11	4	5	1	-
	Bitch	2	11	12	7	12	17	18	16	2	4	10	3	2	2	16	1	Over 45s $p < .05$

TABLE 12

QUESTION/VARIABLE NO.

Cluster No	Item	C11	C2	C9	A2	A5	A3	A9	C6	B4	C5	A4	A11	A7	C1	C8	A8	C4	A1	C3	B1	C10	A6	B2	C7
1	Tramp	68	11	7	3	3	3														3				
	Mess	26		17	30	26																			
	Trollop	22	7	27	11	9	7	9		2												2			
	Slut	57	7	4	2	13	4	2	3				1			1	1		1	2		2	1		
	Scrubber	26	12	2	3	20	8	11	5		2	1					1	1	3				1		
	Slag	26	14	9	10	13	9		5	4	3	3	1	1						1			1		
2	Pro(stitute)		49		2	34	2		2	7				2											
	Flirt		73	5						22															
3	Dame			2	3		9	2	17		5	15	9	8	2	6	6	12				2	2		2
	Bird			1			18	5	6	1	2	1	17	23	13	12									
	Chick				3		8	6	9		16	11	10	13	3	16			1						
	Bit of Stuff			1	6	2	14		3		5	14	13	32	3	7									
	Bit/Piece of..					2	13		6		3	16	11	42	2	1	2								
	Lumber						52	4				16	12		12								4		

TABLE 12 (contd)

Cluster No	Item	QUESTION/VARIABLE NO. C11	C2	C9	A2	A5	A3	A9	C6	B4	C5	A4	A11	A7	C1	C8	A8	C4	A1	C3	B1	C10	A6	B2	C7
4	Woman	5			1		1		1			5	5	1	3	11	29	15	26		1				
	(Old) Wifie															3	36	42	17						2
	(Old) Lady		2	2					4		4	4	6		10	10	20	22	14						2
	Old Dear							1	1			1	4			1	50	33	10						
5	Pain									3										19	14	22	11	32	
	Pain in the Arse									5					2	2			2	5	9	2	7	63	2
	Pain in the Neck									8					1					4	18	1	2	62	2
6	(Old) Bag	3					1										7	13	24		18	1	2	1	28
	(Old) Nag									1							2	2	4	5	25	3	42	5	11
	Moan									9										9	43	11	20		6
7	Tart		9	27	20	24	3	3	2	2	6	1	1	1		1									
	Whore	2	27	2	7	28	5		5	8				2		2			2	2		2	2		2
	Ride		19		19		11	4		4	7	4		7		11		4	4	4					
	Floosy	4	12	14	6	12	4	4	4	12	4	10	4	2	2		2	2							

TABLE 12 (contd)

Cluster No	Item	QUESTION/VARIABLE NO. C11	C2	C9	A2	A5	A3	A9	C6	B4	C5	A4	A11	A7	C1	C8	A8	C4	A1	C3	B1	C10	A6	B2	C7
7	Doll		1	12	27	1	4	3	4		23	5	1	9		8	1						1		
	Bitch		1	1	1	1	1			18					3				2	26	1	22	13		3
	Cow	3	10	1	2	6	2	1	3	11		1	1	1		1	1	2	5	9	6	6	9	2	7
	Boot	6	6	5	3	6	9	2	3	2	2		2	2	2		2	5	6	2	8	12	2		3
8	Girlfriend								6			7	22		65										
	Wife												43		17		6	6	9	6	3	3		3	
9	Girl		1		1		14	30	2		4	5	9	12	3	18									
	Female						21	5	4			5	5	21		32		2	4						
	Lass(ie)						9	25					6	9	6	41	3								
10	Moll		1		1				84			13					1								

TABLE 13

Cluster No.	C11	C2	C9	A2	A5	A3	A9	C6	B4	C5	A4	A11	A7	C1	C8	A8	C4	A1	C3	B1	C10	A6	B2	C7
1	38	9	11	10	14	5	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
2	0	61	3	1	17	1	0	1	15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	1	2	1	19	3	7	0	5	12	12	20	6	7	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
4	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	4	0	3	6	34	28	17	0	0	0	0	0	1
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	9	14	8	7	52	1
6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	9	5	29	5	21	2	15
7	2	11	8	11	10	5	2	2	8	6	2	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	6	2	6	3	0	2
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	4	33	0	41	0	3	3	5	3	2	2	0	2	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	15	20	2	0	1	3	7	14	3	30	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	84	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

N.B. The sum of the scores for each centroid may not amount exactly to 100 due to the rounding of each value to the nearest whole number.

TABLE 14

Items	Euclidean Distance
TRAMP (1)	
Mess (1)	57.1
Trollop (1)	52.4
Slut (1)	16.8
Scrubber (1)	47.7
Slag (1)	45.1
Pro (2)	84.5
Flirt (2)	76.3
Dame (3)	75.8
Bird (3)	78.9
Chick (3)	76.6
Bit of Stuff (3)	80.0
Bit/Piece of ... (3)	84.3
Lumber (3)	88.3
Woman (4)	78.0
Wifie (Old) (4)	90.5
TRAMP (contd)	
Lady (Old) (4)	78.3
Old Dear (4)	92.4
Pain ... (5)	83.3
Pain in the Arse (5)	94.6
Pain in the (Neck)(5)	94.8
Bag (Old) (6)	78.9
Nag (Old) (6)	85.3
Moan (6)	84.5
Tart (7)	73.5
Whore (7)	73.4
Ride (7)	94.8
Floosy (7)	67.6
Doll (7)	77.9
Bitch (7)	80.3
TRAMP (1) (contd)	
Cow (7)	68.5
Boot (7)	64.8
Girlfriend (8)	98.1
Wife (8)	84.7
Girl (9)	80.1
Female (9)	82.0
Lass(ie) (9)	85.6
Moll (10)	109.7
MESS (1)	
Trollop (1)	30.9
Slut (1)	46.6
Scrubber (1)	36.9
Slag (1)	31.2
Pro (2)	65.4
Flirt (2)	32.1

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance	Items	Euclidean Distance	Items	Euclidean Distance
MESS (1) (contd)		MESS (1) (contd)		MESS (1) (contd)	
Dame (3)	57.5	Bag (Old) (6)	65.6	Female (9)	67.5
Bird (3)	63.5	Nag (Old) (6)	71.7	Lass(ie) (9)	71.3
Chick (3)	58.9	Moan (6)	71.5	Moll (10)	98.5
Bit of Stuff (3)	61.3	Tart (7)	47.0	TROLLOP (1)	
Bit/PIece of ..(3)	69.3	Whore (7)	50.6	Slut (1)	43.9
Lumber (3)	76.3	Ride (7)	90.6	Scrubber (1)	30.1
Woman (4)	64.6	Floosy (7)	41.8	Slag (1)	23.4
Wifie (Old) (4)	76.8	Doll (7)	45.6	Pro (2)	61.9
Lady (Old) (4)	62.0	Bitch (7)	63.8	Flirt (2)	29.9
Old Dear (4)	79.0	Cow (7)	50.3	Dame (3)	47.7
Pain ... (5)	68.8	Boot (7)	46.0	Bird (3)	52.2
Pain in the Arse (5)	81.9	Girlfriend (8)	85.6	Chick (3)	49.2
Pain in the Neck (5)	82.5	Wife (8)	70.0	Bit of Stuff (3)	53.9
		Girl (9)	64.7	Bit/Piece of ..(3)	61.3

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
TROLLOP (1) (contd)	
Lumber (3)	63.9
Woman (4)	57.4
Wifie (Old) (4)	70.5
Lady (Old) (4)	53.3
Old Dear (4)	72.8
Pain ... (5)	60.8
Pain in the Arse (5)	75.8
Pain in the Neck (5)	76.3
Bag (Old) (6)	58.0
Nag (Old) (6)	64.7
Moan (6)	64.0
Tart (7)	44.4
Whore (7)	42.9
Ride (7)	77.9
TROLLOP (1) (contd)	
Floosy (7)	29.2
Doll (7)	42.9
Bitch (7)	54.8
Cow (7)	40.2
Boot (7)	33.7
Girlfriend (8)	80.0
Wife (8)	62.8
Girl (9)	50.3
Female (9)	56.9
Lass(ie) (9)	59.8
Moll (10)	93.8
SLUT (1)	
Scrubber (1)	34.1
Slag (1)	34.3
Pro (2)	74.5
SLUT (1) (contd)	
Flirt (2)	65.4
Dame (3)	65.4
Bird (3)	69.2
Chick (3)	66.5
Bit of Stuff (3)	70.7
Bit/Piece ... (3)	75.4
Lumber (3)	79.7
Woman (4)	68.9
Wifie (Old) (4)	82.3
Lady (Old) (4)	68.8
Old Dear (4)	84.3
Pain ... (5)	74.4
Pain in the Arse (5)	87.5
Pain in the Neck (5)	88.1

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
SLUT (1) (contd)	
Bag (Old) (6)	70.9
Nag (Old) (6)	77.4
Moan (6)	77.3
Tart (7)	61.4
Whore (7)	64.8
Ride (7)	91.1
Floosy (7)	57.0
Doll (7)	69.4
Bitch (7)	70.2
Cow (7)	57.9
Boot (7)	54.1
Girlfriend (8)	90.8
Wife (8)	75.7
Girl (9)	70.1
SLUT (contd)	
Female (9)	72.5
Lass(ie) (9)	76.2
Moll (10)	101.2
SCRUBBER (1)	
Slag (1)	17.6
Pro (2)	49.9
Flirt (2)	41.8
Dame (3)	44.7
Bird (3)	50.1
Chick (3)	45.9
Bit of Stuff (3)	52.5
Bit/Piece ...(3)	58.6
Lumber (3)	61.5
Woman (4)	53.5
SCRUBBER (1) (contd)	
Wifie (Old) (4)	67.6
Lady (Old) (4)	50.5
Old Dear (4)	70.1
Pain ... (5)	60.3
Pain in the Arse (5)	74.9
Pain in the Neck (5)	75.6
Bag (Old) (6)	54.9
Nag (Old) (6)	62.8
Moan (6)	63.2
Tart (7)	33.2
Whore (7)	41.4
Ride (7)	74.3
Floosy (7)	32.1

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance	Items	Euclidean Distance	Items	Euclidean Distance
SCRUBBER (1) (contd)		SLAG (1) (contd)		SLAG (1) (contd)	
Doll (7)	50.3	Chick (3)	44.3	Tart (7)	33.1
Bitch (7)	54.9	Bit of Stuff (3)	49.1	Whore (7)	36.0
Cow (7)	35.7	Bit/Piece ... (3)	56.3	Ride (7)	70.0
Boot (7)	31.5	Lumber (3)	59.9	Floosy (7)	26.7
Girlfriend (8)	78.6	Woman (4)	54.5	Doll (7)	43.3
Wife (8)	61.1	Wifie (Old) (4)	68.8	Bitch (7)	52.1
Girl (9)	47.0	Lady (Old) (4)	50.5	Cow (7)	33.5
Female (9)	54.3	Old Dear (4)	71.1	Boot (7)	29.8
Lass(ie) (9)	57.5	Pain ... (5)	59.0	Girlfriend (8)	77.6
Moll (10)	88.3	Pain in the Arse (5)	74.0	Wife (8)	60.2
SLAG (1)		Pain in the Neck (5)	74.5	Girl (9)	51.5
Pro (2)	50.8	Bag (Old) (6)	55.7	Female (9)	53.7
Flirt (2)	36.3	Nag (Old) (6)	62.1	Lass(ie) (9)	61.0
Dame (3)	42.4	Moan (6)	61.7	Moll (10)	87.3
Bird (3)	48.8				

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
PRO (2)	
Flirt (2)	53.2
Dame (3)	67.0
Bird (3)	70.3
Chick (3)	67.8
Bit of Stuff (3)	70.6
Bit/Piece of..(3)	74.9
Lumber (3)	81.8
Woman (4)	74.6
Wifie (Old) (4)	83.6
Lady (Old) (4)	69.2
Old Dear (4)	85.6
Pain ... (5)	76.0
Pain in the Arse (5)	87.9
Pain in the Neck (5)	88.1
PRO (2) (contd)	
Bag (Old) (6)	74.4
Nag (Old) (6)	78.8
Moan (6)	77.9
Tart (7)	24.4
Whore (7)	52.1
Ride (7)	44.7
Floosy (7)	47.7
Doll (7)	70.0
Bitch (7)	69.8
Cow (7)	51.5
Boot (7)	55.5
Girlfriend (8)	91.6
Wife (8)	77.3
Girl (9)	71.5
Female (9)	73.9
PRO (2) (contd)	
Lass(ie) (9)	78.1
Moll (10)	102.0
FLIRT (2)	
Dame (3)	48.7
Bird (3)	55.0
Chick (3)	49.2
Bit of Stuff (3)	53.8
Bit/PIece...(3)	62.0
Lumber (3)	68.9
Woman (4)	60.9
Wifie (Old) (4)	72.2
Lady (Old) (4)	54.6
Old Dear (4)	74.4
Pain ... (5)	63.5
Pain in the Arse (5)	77.4

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance	Items	Euclidean Distance	Items	Euclidean Distance
FLIRT (2) (contd)		FLIRT (contd)		DAME (3) (contd)	
Pain in the Neck (5)	78.0	Girl (9)	55.6	Pain ... (6)	55.5
Bag (Old) (6)	61.4	Female (9)	59.8	Pain in the Arse (5)	71.5
Nag (Old) (6)	66.7	Lass(ie) (9)	63.9	Pain in the Neck (5)	72.4
Moan (6)	66.2	Moll (10)	93.1	Bag (Old) (6)	48.9
Tart (7)	35.4	DAME (3)		Nag (Old) (6)	57.6
Whore (7)	40.9	Bird (3)	32.6	Moan (6)	58.6
Ride (7)	77.6	Chick (3)	23.3	Tart (7)	48.3
Floosy (7)	27.4	Bit of Stuff (3)	32.0	Whore (7)	36.3
Doll (7)	36.0	Bit/Piece ... (3)	39.0	Ride (7)	82.7
Bitch (7)	57.4	Lumber (3)	50.8	Floosy (7)	32.4
Cow (7)	42.1	Woman (4)	42.4	Doll (7)	39.3
Boot (7)	38.7	Wifie (Old) (4)	53.8	Bitch (7)	50.0
Girlfriend (8)	81.0	Lady (Old) (4)	32.3	Cow (7)	35.2
Wife (8)	64.2	Old Dear (4)	56.4		

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
DAME (3) (contd)	
Boot (7)	30.7
Girlfriend (8)	68.8
Wife (8)	47.9
Girl (9)	38.7
Female (9)	38.6
Lass(ie) (9)	50.0
Moll (10)	70.6
BIRD (3)	
Chick (3)	26.1
Bit of Stuff (3)	22.2
Bit/Piece ... (3)	30.4
Lumber (3)	46.3
Woman (4)	53.5
Wifie (Old) (4)	69.4
Lady (Old) (4)	46.0

Items	Euclidean Distance
BIRD (3) (contd)	
Old Dear (4)	71.1
Pain ... (5)	60.9
Pain in the Arse (5)	74.7
Pain in the Neck (5)	75.8
Bag (Old) (6)	58.4
Nag (Old) (6)	64.2
Moan (6)	63.8
Tart (7)	53.2
Whore (7)	40.2
Ride (7)	85.5
Floosy (7)	42.4
Doll (7)	46.4
Bitch (7)	55.2
Cow (7)	43.4

Items	Euclidean Distance
BIRD (3) (contd)	
Boot (7)	38.1
Girlfriend (8)	61.6
Wife (8)	44.4
Girl (9)	31.7
Female (9)	27.8
Lass(ie) (9)	41.7
Moll (10)	87.9
CHICK (3)	
Bit of Stuff (3)	26.5
Bit/Piece ... (3)	36.7
Lumber (3)	53.3
Woman (4)	48.5
Wifie (Old) (4)	65.8
Lady (Old) (4)	40.8
Old Dear (4)	68.0

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
CHICK (3) (contd)	
Pain ... (5)	57.4
Pain in the Arse (5)	72.1
Pain in the Neck (5)	73.2
Bag (Old) (6)	54.4
Nag (Old) (6)	60.7
Moan (6)	60.6
Tart (7)	49.8
Whore (7)	32.7
Ride (7)	83.3
Floosy (7)	35.6
Doll (7)	32.1
Bitch (7)	52.3
Cow (7)	38.6
Boot (7)	35.0
CHICK (3) (contd)	
Girlfriend (8)	69.3
Wife (8)	49.8
Girl (9)	29.2
Female (9)	29.4
Lass(ie) (9)	38.8
Moll (10)	80.8
BIT OF STUFF (3)	
Bit/Piece ... (3)	14.1
Lumber (3)	52.1
Woman (4)	55.8
Wifie (Old) (4)	71.0
Lady (Old) (4)	50.6
Old Dear (4)	72.6
Pain ... (5)	62.6
Pain in the Arse (5)	76.5
BIT OF STUFF (3) (contd)	
Pain in the Neck (5)	77.3
Bag (Old) (6)	60.1
Nag (Old) (6)	65.7
Moan (6)	65.5
Tart (7)	53.9
Whore (7)	39.5
Ride (7)	86.9
Floosy (7)	41.8
Doll (7)	42.0
Bitch (7)	57.8
Cow (7)	45.5
Boot (7)	41.4
Girlfriend (8)	72.9
Wife (8)	53.4

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
BIT OF STUFF (3) (contd)	
Girl (9)	39.4
Female (9)	32.6
Lass(ie) (9)	51.7
Moll (10)	89.8
BIT/PIECE OF ... (3)	
Lumber (3)	58.9
Woman (4)	61.5
Wifie (Old) (4)	74.7
Lady (Old) (4)	57.2
Old Dear (4)	75.8
Pain ... (5)	67.6
Pain in the Arse (5)	80.8
Pain in the Neck (5)	81.4
Bag (Old) (6)	65.1
Nag (Old) (6)	70.4
Moan (6)	70.3
Tart (7)	60.1
Whore (7)	49.6
Ride (7)	90.6
Floosy (7)	49.3
Doll (7)	52.3
Bitch (7)	63.3
Cow (7)	52.1
Boot (7)	48.8
Girlfriend (8)	78.2
Wife (8)	60.7
Girl (9)	47.4
Female (9)	41.2
Lass(ie) (9)	60.6
Moll (10)	90.4
LUMBER (3)	
Woman (4)	69.1
Wifie (Old) (4)	81.5
Lady (Old) (4)	64.4
Old Dear (4)	82.8
Pain ... (5)	73.4
Pain in the Arse (5)	85.7
Pain in the Neck (5)	86.6
Bag (Old) (6)	71.3
Nag (Old) (6)	74.4
Moan (6)	75.4
Tart (7)	66.8
Whore (7)	56.0

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
LUMBER (3) (contd)	
Ride (7)	95.5
Floosy (7)	57.0
Doll (7)	65.3
Bitch (7)	68.4
Cow (7)	59.5
Boot (7)	52.6
Girlfriend (8)	75.9
Wife (8)	64.8
Girl (9)	53.3
Female (9)	52.9
Lass(ie) (9)	66.4
Moll (10)	100.4
WOMAN (4)	
Wifie (Old) (4)	31.9
WOMAN (4) (contd)	
Lady (Old) (4)	19.8
Old Dear (4)	34.3
Pain ... (5)	64.2
Pain in the Arse (5)	77.1
Pain in the Neck (5)	78.5
Bag (Old) (6)	41.9
Nag (Old) (6)	64.1
Moan (6)	66.6
Tart (7)	58.8
Whore (7)	49.3
Ride (7)	88.3
Floosy (7)	49.3
Doll (7)	56.5
WOMAN (4) (contd)	
Bitch (7)	59.2
Cow (7)	45.6
Boot (7)	42.2
Girlfriend (8)	77.8
Wife (8)	52.7
Girl (9)	55.2
Female (9)	53.0
Lass(ie) (9)	57.4
Moll (10)	93.9
WIFIE (OLD) (4)	
Lady (Old) (4)	30.1
Old Dear (4)	18.8
Pain ... (5)	74.6
Pain in the Arse (5)	86.3

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
WIFIE (OLD) (4) (contd)	
Pain in the Neck (5)	87.3
Bag (Old) (6)	52.5
Nag (Old) (6)	73.9
Moan (6)	76.9
Tart (7)	70.6
Whore (7)	63.1
Ride (7)	95.9
Floosy (7)	62.7
Doll (7)	69.7
Bitch (7)	70.5
Cow (7)	59.4
Boot (7)	55.9
Girlfriend (8)	90.3
Wife (8)	66.9
WIFIE (OLD) (4) (contd)	
Girl (9)	70.4
Female (9)	69.9
Lass(ie) (9)	73.8
Moll (10)	102.6
LADY (OLD) (4)	
Old Dear (4)	35.6
Pain ... (5)	59.8
Pain in the Arse (5)	73.5
Pain in the Neck (5)	74.9
Bag (Old) (6)	40.7
Nag (Old) (6)	60.4
Moan (6)	62.6
Tart (7)	53.2
Whore (7)	43.2
LADY (OLD) (4) (contd)	
Ride (7)	83.1
Floosy (7)	41.8
Doll (7)	49.7
Bitch (7)	54.1
Cow (7)	39.7
Boot (7)	36.0
Girlfriend (8)	67.1
Wife (8)	46.0
Girl (9)	49.6
Female (9)	49.2
Lass(ie) (9)	52.9
Moll (10)	88.2
OLD DEAR (4)	
Pain ... (5)	76.8
Pain in the Arse (5)	88.5

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
OLD DEAR (4) (contd)	
Pain in the Neck (5)	89.3
Bag (Old) (6)	59.9
Nag (Old) (6)	76.8
Moan (6)	79.2
Tart (7)	73.3
Whore (7)	67.0
Ride (7)	97.7
Floosy (7)	64.7
Doll (7)	72.0
Bitch (7)	73.1
Cow (7)	63.0
Boot (7)	59.8
Girlfriend (8)	91.1
Wife (8)	67.4
Girl (9)	72.3
Female (9)	73.4
Lass(ie) (9)	76.0
Moll (10)	103.2
PAIN ... (5)	
Pain in the Arse (5)	40.2
Pain in the Neck (5)	41.2
Bag (Old) (6)	58.8
Nag (Old) (6)	50.2
Moan (6)	47.3
Tart (7)	60.4
Whore (7)	56.4
Ride (7)	88.9
Floosy (7)	54.8
Doll (7)	61.6
Bitch (7)	38.7
Cow (7)	40.4
Boot (7)	43.1
Girlfriend (8)	83.6
Wife (8)	62.6
Girl (9)	62.4
Female (9)	64.9
Lass(ie) (9)	68.9
Moll (10)	97.1
PAIN IN THE ARSE (5)	
Pain in the Neck (5)	11.3
Bag (Old) (6)	73.5
Nag (Old) (6)	70.5
Moan (6)	73.7
Tart (7)	75.6

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
PAIN IN THE ARSE (5) (contd	
Whore (7)	72.0
Ride (7)	98.9
Floosy (7)	70.1
Doll (7)	75.8
Bitch (7)	71.3
Cow (7)	63.4
Boot (7)	66.4
Girlfriend (8)	93.3
Wife (8)	76.9
Girl (9)	76.1
Female (9)	77.7
Lass(ie) (9)	80.8
Moll (10)	106.8
PAIN IN THE NECK (5)	
Bag (Old) (6)	72.7
Nag (Old) (6)	71.1
Moan (6)	70.3
Tart (7)	76.2
Whore (7)	72.9
Ride (7)	98.7
Floosy (7)	70.3
Doll (7)	76.6
Bitch (7)	72.8
Cow (7)	63.8
Boot (7)	66.5
Girlfriend (8)	94.5
Wife (8)	77.7
Girl (9)	77.2
Female (9)	79.2
Lass(ie) (9)	82.4
PAIN IN THE NECK (5) (contd)	
Moll (10)	107.2
BAG (OLD) (6)	
Nag (Old) (6)	50.4
Moan (6)	50.0
Tart (7)	58.2
Whore (7)	52.5
Ride (7)	88.1
Floosy (7)	51.8
Doll (7)	59.3
Bitch (7)	56.6
Cow (7)	39.2
Boot (7)	38.4
Girlfriend (8)	81.9
Wife (8)	59.0
Girl (9)	59.9

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance	Items	Euclidean Distance	Items	Euclidean Distance
BAG (OLD) (6) (contd)		NAG (OLD) (6) (contd)		MOAN (6) (contd)	
Female (9)	60.4	Girl (9)	65.6	Girl (9)	65.3
Lass(ie) (9)	66.4	Female (9)	67.6	Female (9)	67.7
Moll (10)	95.6	Lass(ie) (9)	71.6	Lass(ie) (9)	71.5
NAG (OLD) (6)		Moll (10)	99.1	Moll (10)	99.0
Moan (6)	32.0	MOAN (6)		TART (7)	
Tart (7)	63.5	Tart (7)	62.9	Whore (7)	36.1
Whore (7)	60.5	Whore (7)	59.9	Ride (7)	56.9
Ride (7)	91.6	Ride (7)	89.5	Floosy (7)	28.8
Floosy (7)	58.6	Floosy (7)	56.8	Doll (7)	51.4
Doll (7)	64.2	Doll (7)	64.4	Bitch (7)	52.0
Bitch (7)	51.2	Bitch (7)	48.3	Cow (7)	31.9
Cow (7)	42.1	Cow (7)	41.5	Boot (7)	35.4
Boot (7)	48.3	Boot (7)	44.4	Girlfriend (8)	80.3
Girlfriend (8)	86.0	Girlfriend (8)	85.8	Wife (8)	63.2
Wife (8)	67.6	Wife (8)	67.0	Girl (9)	55.4

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance	Items	Euclidean Distance	Items	Euclidean Distance
TART (7) (contd)		WHORE (7) (contd)		FLOOSY (7) (contd)	
Female (9)	57.0	Moll (10)	90.6	Bitch (7)	44.9
Lass(ie) (9)	63.0	RIDE (7)		Cow (7)	25.8
Moll (10)	89.6	Floosy (7)	65.5	Boot (7)	26.0
WHORE (7)		Doll (7)	84.8	Girlfriend (8)	71.0
Ride (7)	63.6	Bitch (7)	81.1	Wife (8)	52.6
Floosy (7)	30.9	Cow (7)	67.0	Girl (9)	43.7
Doll (7)	30.6	Boot (7)	73.3	Female (9)	49.2
Bitch (7)	48.7	Girlfriend (8)	103.1	Lass(ie)(9)	55.1
Cow (7)	31.6	Wife (8)	90.5	Moll (10)	84.5
Boot (7)	31.2	Girl (9)	86.0	DOLL (7)	
Girlfriend (8)	76.8	Female (9)	88.6	Bitch (7)	56.4
Wife (8)	57.8	Lass(ie) (9)	91.6	Cow (7)	44.1
Girl (9)	39.7	Moll (10)	113.7	Boot (7)	40.1
Female (9)	39.8	FLOOSY (7)		Girlfriend (8)	79.1
Lass(ie) (9)	47.8	Doll (7)	37.0	Wife (8)	62.2

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
DOLL (7) (contd)	
Girl (9)	46.9
Female (9)	49.6
Lass(ie) (9)	55.8
Moll (10)	89.4
BITCH (7)	
Cow (7)	28.4
Boot (7)	36.7
Girlfriend (8)	78.0
Wife (8)	58.7
Girl (9)	57.7
Female (9)	60.3
Lass(ie) (9)	64.6
Moll (10)	94.4
COW (7)	
Boot (7)	18.8
Girlfriend (8)	72.8
Wife (8)	50.6
Girl (9)	45.5
Female (9)	48.3
Lass(ie) (9)	54.3
Moll (10)	85.3
BOOT (7)	
Girlfriend (8)	70.4
Wife (8)	48.2
Girl (9)	41.6
Female (9)	44.4
Lass(ie) (9)	52.3
Moll (10)	85.1
GIRLFRIEND (8)	
Wife (8)	55.2
Girl (9)	74.9
Female (9)	80.5
Lass(ie) (9)	79.4
Moll (10)	104.1
WIFE (8)	
Girl (9)	56.4
Female (9)	62.0
Lass(ie) (9)	64.4
Moll (10)	97.8
GIRL (9)	
Female (9)	31.9
Lass(ie) (9)	25.7
Moll (10)	92.0
FEMALE (9)	
Lass(ie) (9)	29.6

TABLE 14 (contd)

Items	Euclidean Distance
FEMALE (9) (contd)	
Moll (10)	91.9
LASS(IE) (9)	
Moll (10)	98.9

The figures in brackets are the cluster numbers to which the items belong.

TABLE 15

Question Number	Item	Cluster No	Percentage of Remaining Total
A1	Old Bag	6	34%
	Woman	4	36%
	Old Dear	4	16%
A2	Tart	7	37%
	Doll	7	20%
A3	Bird	3	24%
	Girl	9	23%
A4	Bird	3	22%
	Bit of Stuff	3	11%
	Moll	10	11%
A5	Tart	7	44%
	Slut	1	14%
	Cow	7	14%
A6	Nag	6	37%
	Bitch	7	35%
	Cow	7	23%
A7	Bird	3	30%
	Girl	9	23%
	Bit of Stuff	3	28%
	Bit/Piece of ...	3	23%
A8	Old Dear	4	33%
	Old Woman	4	41%

TABLE 15 (contd)

Question Number	Item	Cluster No	Percentage of Remaining Total
A8	Old Bag	6	25%
	Old Wifie	4	24%
A9	Girls	9	40%
	Birds	3	11%
A10	Tomboy		85%
A11	Bird	3	23%
	Girlfriend	8	16%
	Girl	9	17%
A12	Knackered		21%
	Blew		18%
	Buggered		16%
	Cocked It Up		16%
A13	Scarper		41%
	Run (for it/off)		18%
	Split		19%
A14	Go (Home)		19%
	Split		23%
	Leave		23%
	Piss Off		14%
A15	Shut Up		44%
	Belt Up		42%
B1	Old Bag	6	25%
	Old Nag	6	30%

TABLE 15 (contd)

Question Number	Item	Cluster No	Percentage of Remaining Total
B1	Pain (in the...)	5	19%
B2	Pain (in the...)	5	35%
	Chatter box	-	26%
	Pain in the Neck	5	23%
	Pain in the Arse	5	11%
B3	Gold-digger/ing	-	27%
	Bitch	7	21%
	Cow	7	13%
B4	Bitch(y)	7	33%
	Cow	7	18%
C1	Girlfriend	8	36%
	Bird	3	27%
	(Going) Steady	-	17%
C2	Tart	7	16%
	Cow	7	13%
	Flirt	2	12%
	Pro(stitute)	2	10%
C3	Bitch(y)	7	48%
	Cow	7	19%
C4	Old Dear	4	21%
	Old Bag	6	22%
	Old Woman	4	22%
	Old Wifie	4	17%

TABLE 15 (contd)

Question Number	Item	Cluster No	Percentage of Remaining Total
C5	Trendy	-	12%
	Doll/Dolly Bird	7	12%
	Tart	7	15%
	Smart(ie Pants)	-	12%
C6	Moll	10	42%
	Bird	3	17%
C7	(Old) Bag	6	38%
	(Old) Nag	6	17%
	(Old) Cow	7	15%
C8	Girl	9	23%
	Bird	3	20%
	(Young) Woman	4	17%
C9	Tart(y)	7	49%
C10	Bitch(y)	7	40%
C11	Slut	1	36%
	Scrubber	1	13%
	Slag (Heap)	1	13%
C12	Tubby/Tub	-	22%
	Fat	-	22%
	Dumpy	-	11%

TABLE 16

Item	Component					
	Youth	Attractiveness	Bad Temper	Irritating	Promiscuous	Criminal Associations
Tramp	o	- -	o	o	+	o
Mess	o	- -	o	o	+	o
Trollop	+	-	o	o	+	o
Slut	(+)	- -	(+)	o	+	o
Scrubber	(+)	-	o	o	+	(+)
Slag	o	-	o	(+)	+	(+)
Pro/prosty	o	o	o	o	+ +	o
Flirt	o	o	o	o	+ +	o
Dame	o	+	(+)	o	-	+
Bird	+	+	o	o	-	(+)
Chick	+	+	o	o	-	+
Bit of Stuff	(+)	+	o	o	-	+
Bit/Piece	o	+ +	o	o	-	+
Lumber	o	o	o	o	-	+

TABLE 16 (continued)

Item	Component					
	Youth	Attractiveness	Bad Temper	Irritating	Promiscuous	Criminal Association
Woman	o	(-)	+	o	(-)	(+)
Wifie	-	o	+	o	o	o
(Old) Lady	-	o	+	o	-	(+)
Old Dear	-	o	(+)	o	o	o
Pain	+ +	o	+ +	+ +	o	o
Pain in the Arse	(+)	o	+	+ +	o	o
Pain in the Neck	o	o	+	+ +	(+)	o
Old Bag	-	o	+ +	o	o	o
(Old) Nag	o	o	+ +	+ +	o	o
Moan	+	o	+ +	+	(+)	o
Tart	o	(+)	o	o	+	o
Whore	o	-	(+)	(+)	+ +	(+)
Ride	+	+	(+)	o	+	o

TABLE 16 (continued)

Item	Component					
	Youth	Attractiveness	Bad Temper	Irritating	Promiscuous	Criminal Associations
Floosy	o	(-)	o	o	+	+
Doll	+	+	o	o	o	(+)
Bitch	+ +	o	+ +	+	+	o
Cow	(+)	(-)	+	+	+	o
Boot	(+)	(-)	+	o	(+)	o
Girlfriend	o	o	o	o	- -	+
Wife	o	o	+	o	- -	o
Girl	+	+	o	o	-	(+)
Female	+	o	o	o	o	(+)
Lass(ie)	+ +	o	o	o	-	o
Moll	o	o	o	o	o	+ +

o is used for 5% or less of occurrences

Parenthesis is used for scores of 6%-10% inclusive of occurrences

+ + or - - is used for scores of 45% or more of occurrences

ADDENDA

p. 156

l. 7

....)" I am currently engaged in further analysis of the concept of fuzziness and degree of membership of fuzzy sets as they affect pragmatics and semantics.*

*Agutter, A.J.L., Aguter, P.S., & Anderson, J.M. Ms in preparation.

p. 160

l. 20

fields; though the information they convey can be as adequately handled in ordinary language discussion.

l. 24

each item: the components are far too vague.

p. 161

l. 1

contrast. For more detailed objections to the use of componential analysis in this field see pp. 146 ff.

p. 164

l. 24

"These registers were not envisaged as fully discrete, and, in the light of the statistical techniques used in this work, it might be possible to support these distinctions with quantitative evidence regarding e.g. extent of use. It seems likely, however, that this is an area of language study where one may have to accommodate some fuzziness in the classification system.